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ABSTRACT

The results of a study which identified the employment aspirations and needs of Greek and Italian immigrant youth in Australia are presented in this book. There are 11 Chapters, the first three of which discuss, respectively; (1) research background and methodology; (2) the experience of Greek and Italian immigrant youth in Australia (a literature review); and (3) characteristics of the teenage immigrant labor force (an analysis of 1976 Census data regarding the schooling and employment of immigrant youth in Australia). Chapters 4 through 8 discuss and analyze the following demographic data; (4) ethnic language, participation, and identity; (5) the school experience; (6) the workforce experience; (7) durations of unemployment and continuous employment; and (8) job aspiration, generational change, and comparisons between geographically different samples. Chapter 9 discusses the development of a set of measures to determine attitudes to work; and Chapter 10 presents the analysis and results of the attitude measures. The final chapter is a summary and discussion of the implications of the study as a whole. (KH)

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Report of the Greek and Italian Youth Employment Study

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DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION
AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS

Department of Immigration
and Ethnic Affairs

Report of the Greek and Italian Youth Employment Study

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Preface

Following the publication in July 1980 by the Commonwealth Department of Education of the study by Dr Christabel Young, Dr M. Petty and Mr A. Faulkner, entitled *Education and Employment of Turkish and Lebanese Youth*, the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs commissioned the Australian National University's Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, to redevelop the survey methodology for use in a further study to identify the employment aspirations and needs of Greek and Italian immigrant youth. Funds were provided to extend the original survey to cover a larger sample of Turkish female school leavers and to further analyse the earlier data with a focus on employment aspirations and needs. This research was seen as a source of information to support the Department's policy planning role in line with Recommendation 57 of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants.

Dr Young was once again a principal researcher and to her experience and expertise was added that of Dr David Cox of the University of Melbourne, a member of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs, as joint researcher. An additional innovation of this study was the development and testing of attitudes to work and job-seeking activities among migrant youth, and Mrs Alison Daly, with a background and training in psychology, was included in the research team for this purpose.

The results of the research considerably extend the previously scant knowledge of the labour force behaviour of the off-spring of these well-established migrant groups. There is also a comparison with the more recently arrived Turkish and Lebanese groups. The findings of the study will be of value in the development of government policy and should also be helpful to field workers involved with the social problems of these young people.

Canberra, A.C.T.
August 1983

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We would like to thank Robin Grau in Canberra for her essential role in carrying out the programming, and Maria Tucci in Melbourne for her valuable assistance in the supervision of the fieldwork. We are also very grateful to the interviewers for their work in collecting the questionnaire data relating to the Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian school leavers. Generous thanks must also be extended to the Department of Sociology in the Faculty of Arts at the Australian National University in its role as host to the project, and to the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs for making funds available to carry out the study.

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CHAPTER 1

Background and methodology

1.1 Introduction

Towards the end of 1979 discussions were held between officers from the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and academic staff from the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, at the Australian National University regarding proposed research on the workforce experience of school leavers in the ethnic communities. Although in recent years there has been growing interest and research in the transition from school to work and youth unemployment in Australia, very little of this has been directed towards the specific experience of migrant groups. Both parties agreed that one needed area of research was the workforce experience of youth from two of the largest and relatively well-established ethnic groups of non-English-speaking origin, namely the Greeks and Italians.

The presence of sizeable numbers of Greeks and Italians in Australia is largely a phenomenon of the post-war era and salient points of their pattern of immigration to Australia and their experience in this country are discussed in Chapter 2. Since large-scale immigration of Greeks and Italians to Australia has been proceeding for more than thirty years, there are now considerable numbers of children and young adults born in Australia with parents of Greek and Italian origin. These latter groups represent a new stage in the migration process and they are of particular interest because little is known about how closely these have retained the characteristics of their parents' ethnic group or to what extent they are approaching the Australian norm. Since, as is shown in Chapter 3, the majority of teenagers from the Greek and Italian ethnic groups are second generation Greeks and Italians (i.e. born in Australia) this study has in fact focussed on their experience, thus providing data on this unique group.

This research study on the school and employment experience of Greek and Italian young people developed from an earlier study of Turkish and Lebanese youth in Australia. This first study was initiated and funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education in response to the growing concern over rising unemployment levels among school leavers and from indications that recently arrived migrant youth from a non-English-speaking background were experiencing special difficulties in entering the workforce. The Turkish and Lebanese study certainly did demonstrate that special problems existed within these two groups, such as the financial difficulties of many of the newly arrived families; lack of English, which prevented communication between parents and schools, narrowed the range of information available to families about post-school training and jobs and prevented access to jobs requiring English; and cultural differences, including especially the protected position of girls in these societies. Apart from the main publication of this study (Young et al., 1980), further aspects of the research have been presented by the co-ordinators of the project at various conferences and meetings. In addition there have been follow-up discussions in the ethnic communities initiated by the Commonwealth Department of Education.

It must be remembered, of course, that in Australia at the present time (and in most other developed countries) all school leavers face competition for jobs and there is even stronger competition for the scarce number of 'good' jobs that are available, that is, non-factory and non-labouring jobs. A group is considered to be disadvantaged if it faces additional difficulties apart from those which confront all teenagers. One of the purposes of the Turkish and Lebanese study and of the present study of Greek and Italian school leavers, was to discover the existence and extent of special problems and also to discover ways in which certain ethnic groups might overcome inherent disadvantages in their search for employment. The concluding chapter in this report compares some of the findings from the survey data from the two studies.

One aspect which must be strongly emphasised is that both the surveys undertaken have focussed on school leavers in the 15-20-years age group and, particularly, school leavers who have not proceeded to tertiary education. This should be remembered throughout the assessment of the findings of the studies. In both surveys, the target population has been the group of school leavers who are proceeding from school to the workforce and, moreover, for these the school's role has been to a large extent a means of training and preparation for the workforce. Naturally, their attitudes and aspirations, the value of school to them and their immediate post-school activities, are somewhat different from the corresponding characteristics of school leavers in the same ethnic group who have left school to attend a tertiary institution and who were not surveyed.

In addition, some ethnic groups contain a higher proportion of early school leavers than others and this means that the teenage workforce may constitute a higher proportion of the total 15-19 year age group in some ethnic groups compared with others. An indication of this variation between groups is provided in Chapter 3, which examines the 1976 Census material on migrant youth employment. Chapter 3 also compares census information about workforce status of Greek and Italian youth with that of the Turks and Lebanese.

Two of the background chapters in the published study of the education and employment of the Turkish and Lebanese youth are also relevant to the present study of Greek and Italian teenagers. The first is Chapter 3, Non-English-Speaking Migrants in Australia—School and Beyond, which summarises findings from research on the transition from school to work of migrant children in Australia, with particular reference to the shortcomings of the schooling provisions for non-English-speaking children. The other is Chapter 4, The Transition from School to Work—Current Literature, which, as the title suggests, summarises Australian and overseas literature about the current thinking concerning the role of the school and the special difficulties of the emerging generations of school leavers. Those interested in these background areas are advised to consult these two chapters and the references accompanying them.

1.2 The present study

The present study formally began with an agreement between the Australian National University and the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs to cover the funding of the first stage of the project, from April to November 1980, while a second stage, covered by a later agreement, extended from February to November 1981. Professor George Zubrzycki, formerly head of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, was initially designated as the consultant to the project and Dr Robert Cushing, Head of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, became the consultant during the second stage of the project.

Dr Christabel Young from the same Department was appointed as Senior Research Fellow and co-ordinator of the project and Dr David Cox, from the Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne, was invited to become joint researcher and supervisor of the fieldwork in Melbourne. Mrs Alison Daly, formerly a postgraduate student from the Department of Psychology, was appointed as Research Assistant in charge of developing the attitudinal scale and Mrs Robin Grau was appointed as Research Assistant-Programmer.

The main activities in relation to the study of the school to work experience of the Greek and Italian youth were:

(1) analysis of 1976 Census data relating to schooling and employment of young migrants;

(2) development of a questionnaire investigating school and employment of Greek and Italian youth;

(3) development and testing of a scale to measure attitudes towards work among migrant youth;

(4) investigation of a sample frame in Melbourne and the pretesting of the full questionnaire among Greek and Italian young people in Melbourne;

(5) revising the attitude questions, the main questionnaire and the interviewer instructions from the knowledge gained during the pretest;

(6) deriving the sample of Greek and Italian and a control group of Anglo-Australian school leavers in the 15–20 years age group who are either employed or unemployed for the main survey;

(7) recruiting, training and supervising interviewers in order to carry out approximately 300 interviews with school leavers in the main survey;

(8) checking and editing questionnaires and developing code lists for the open-ended questions from the survey;

(9) preparation of computer tabulations from the survey data; and

(10) analysis of the quantitative and qualitative material from the survey and preparation of the final report.

Items (1) to (5) were carried out largely during the first stage of the study, April–November 1980, while items (6) to (10) constituted the second stage, February–November 1981.

1.3 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed in two parts: background questions which collected basic demographic and social data (see Appendix A) and a specially designed set of attitudinal questions (see Appendix C).

Background questions

The background questions were largely based on those used in the earlier study of Turkish and Lebanese youth, but with modifications where necessary to eliminate questions which offended or were found to be of little value and to introduce extra questions to focus on new issues of importance in the current study, for example, part-time work while still at school.

The topics included in the background questions were:

(1) age, sex, marital status, religion, living arrangements;

(2) birthplace, age at arrival in Australia, year of arrival, subsequent visits back to Greece and Italy;

(3) knowledge and use of English and the ethnic language, participation in ethnic clubs, friendships, influence of ethnic background;

(4) schooling, including type of school, level of schooling attained, age at leaving school, reason for leaving, encouragement to continue at school, benefits of school, absences from school, post-school courses and sources of advice about possible jobs;

(5) sources of information about the workplace, sources of jobs, the source of the first and most recent jobs;

(6) work history, including a work calendar, past and current employment status, part-time work while still at school, the first and most recent occupations, employers and reasons for leaving a job;

(7) work expectations and aspirations; and

(8) schooling and occupation of the parents.

The pretest of the background questions in Melbourne was valuable as a verification of the relevance and appropriateness of the questions and for the information that it provided on the range of responses to questions and the range of situations experienced by Greek and Italian school leavers. Although a few of the questions were found to be of little value and were subsequently omitted, the amount of revision required was minimal and consequently the final questionnaire for the main survey differed only slightly from the pretest version. The reason for this, of course, is that the questionnaire had already been extensively tested in the field among Turkish and Lebanese youth in the earlier study.

The attitude questions

The attitude questions were an innovation in the Greek and Italian study and consequently there was no prior testing or experience with this aspect in the Turkish and Lebanese study. The pretest version of the attitude questions was developed after an extensive search of the relevant literature and discussions with others working in related areas. This first scale included 102 items and these were tested in Canberra during July 1980. The responses were tested for reliability and validity, and then revised according to a scale with thirty-three items, grouped into sets of statements under the broad headings:

(1) work;

(2) employment;

(3) unemployment;

(4) unemployment benefits; and

(5) job-seeking strategies and related activities.

The underlying theory, testing procedures and techniques of analysis of the attitudinal scale are described in detail in Chapters 9 and 10.

The background questions and the attitude questions were incorporated in one composite questionnaire and a set of detailed interviewer instructions was compiled. In addition the interviewers were given sets of the attitude questions translated into Greek and Italian to ensure uniform presentation during interviews.

1.4 Sampling procedure and fieldwork

The sampling procedure which was devised and tested in the pretest and was subsequently used in the main survey was as follows. Two areas of Melbourne were selected for study. Both were areas for which the 1976 Census showed large numbers of residents born in Greece and Italy. One was known to be an area where a large number of newly arrived Greeks and Italians had settled, making it largely an area of first settlement. The second area comprised newer homes and represented an area of largely tertiary settlement for older arrivals as well as one into which may newly married younger arrivals settled.

The two areas, with their 1976 populations of Greek and Italian birth, are as follows:

Table 1.1: **Number of persons with Greek or Italian birthplace in selected suburbs, 1976 Census**

Area	*Suburb*	*Greek-born*	*Italian-born*
1	Brunswick	4401	6940
	Coburg	2459	7014
	Northcote	6291	5519
2	Oakleigh	4290	3675
	Moorabbin	2723	2240
	Springvale	1405	2643

It was decided that, within each of these areas, the samples would be obtained largely from the local schools. The procedure adopted was to ask the schools for permission to develop from the lists of Levels 10, 11 and 12 leavers in 1978 and 1979 a list of males and females either known, or thought to be of either Greek or Italian origin and either known or thought to have left school to enter the workforce. These young people were then to be approached directly by interviewers of the same ethnic background and sex as themselves and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed.

This procedure was tried out during the pretest and, despite some difficulties, it was agreed that it was a satisfactory procedure to use in the main study. Although only State High Schools had been used in the pretest the scope was deliberately broadened in the main survey to include also Roman Catholic High Schools and State Technical Schools. It was, however, found necessary to move slightly beyond the originally defined areas to include both Fitzroy and Princes Hill High Schools which are adjacent to the first area and draw students from it in large numbers. In the second area Huntingdale, Murrumbeena and Highett High Schools were involved in order to obtain sufficient numbers. Again these schools are in adjacent suburbs and their inclusion presented no real change. It also proved necessary to include some 1977 and some 1980 school leavers before the main study was concluded.

A total of ten schools were used in the Brunswick-Northcote area and nine schools in the Oakleigh-Moorabbin area. The nature of these schools was as set out below.

Table 1.2: **Number of schools according to type in each of the sample areas**

School	*Brunswick-Northcote*	*Oakleigh-Moorabbin*
State Technical Schools (Boys)	1	2
State Technical Schools (Mixed)	1	-
State High Schools (Boys)	1	-
State High Schools (Mixed)	6	6
Catholic High Schools	1	1

In most of the schools we were supplied with complete lists of school leavers at the appropriate levels and in the relevant years shown to be either Greek or Italian and moving into the workforce. In this sense the samples drawn represented virtually the entire populations from which we were drawing. However, the schools' knowledge of their leavers varied greatly. Many of the names obtained were of students who had transferred to other schools or who had gone on to other full-time education. While this fact created additional work it did not detract from the sampling procedure.

One surprising and somewhat unexpected aspect of our experience was the small numbers which most schools were able to supply. While this was due partly to the ineligibility of those going on to further studies, in the Oakleigh-Moorabbin area particularly it reflected the small numbers of Greek and Italian people in the higher levels of secondary school. It is possible that the census figures in that area included large numbers of young families whose children had not yet reached these levels. It was this experience which necessitated us drawing up a larger number of schools than originally anticipated.

The Anglo-Australian lists were compiled in the same way as the others, with the surname being used alongside the knowledge of an assisting teacher to determine who were ethnically eligible. The system worked quite smoothly for this control group.

The interviewers were recruited largely from the universities' student population with a smaller number of social work personnel. The bulk of the interviews were conducted by students. With two exceptions only Greek and Italian interviewers were recruited, trained and given lists of possible interviewees of the same sex and ethnic group as themselves. The interviewers were asked to make direct contact with the subjects, check their eligibility and, if appropriate, proceed to arrange the interview. It was suggested that they ask all interviewees for the names of eligible friends and some additional subjects were obtained in this way. They were also permitted to interview other eligible subjects known to themselves and some interviewers did so. Although information is not available for all potential respondents listed on information available from the schools or for all finally interviewed, the following table is a fair indication of the outcome of the interviewing. As can be seen, the refusal rate was relatively low and was mostly refusals by parents rather than from the youth involved. A larger number were found to be ineligible, mainly because they were in full-time education. An even larger number were not located. Some of these had moved out of the area and were not pursued, some had apparently returned to Greece or Italy, some were never at home and some of the addresses supplied by the schools were incorrect. It is difficult to say to what degree those who were located and interviewed represented a biased sample of those whose names had been supplied.

In the pretest nine interviewers were used—four Greek and five Italian. Three of these were available for the main survey when they were joined by an additional seventeen interviewers. Of the twenty interviewers employed in the main study, eleven were Greek, seven were Italian and two were Australian. Of the twenty, eight were males and twelve were females. The interviewers varied widely in the number of interviews completed, ranging from two to forty-seven and averaging 14.6 interviews. All were given a one to one and a half hour training session and several sets of instructions. Regular contact was maintained with the interviewers to assist with queries and to collect and check all interview records as they were completed. This enabled us to clarify any omissions or errors in the records. Additional lists of school leavers were supplied to the interviewers as the former ones became exhausted, which enabled them to maintain a sufficient reserve of potential interviewees.

Table 1.3: **Interviewing experience from the main survey**

Category	*Interviewed from lists*	*Interviewed from other sources*	*Refused interview*	*Ineligible for interview*	*Not located*
Greeks					
Brunswick-Northcote	35	16	4	16	19
Oakleigh-Moorabbin	20	18	7	13	28
Italians					
Brunswick-Northcote	26	7	10	2	14
Oakleigh-Moorabbin	42	15	9	8	10
Anglo-Australians					
Brunswick-Northcote	40	15	9	6	21
Oakleigh-Moorabbin	37	14	8	12	7
Total	200	85	47	57	99

On the whole the procedures adopted worked reasonably well, but a few comments are in order. In relation to the sampling procedures the numbers of Greek and Italian young people leaving school and known to be entering the workforce were suprisingly small. It was also surprising that so many schools knew so little about the plans of their students and even less about their situations a year or two later. The importance of studies such as this were made very apparent and indeed commented upon by staff in a number of the schools. However, the inadequate level of knowledge resulted in interviewers pursuing interviewees who had left school for further studies. This was time-consuming and frustrating for some of the interviewers and indeed it led to some early resignations from the team.

With the changes made to them after the pretest, the research instruments worked very well. In the debriefing session with interviewers after the pretest many difficulties with the instruments were raised. By contrast, the final debriefing session, at which the main interviewers were present, brought out very few such comments. Most of the comments made at this gathering reinforced or added to the trends apparent in the records of interviews themselves. No major difficulties were encountered with the form of the interview itself.

1.5 Sample structure and terminology

The total number of interviews conducted was 343 and the final configuration of the sample in terms of area, ethnic composition and employment status is shown in Table 1.4. The aim in the sampling was to achieve a reasonable distribution between the two areas and between the six sex and ethnic groups. Although there was no intervention in the selection of employed and unemployed respondents, it was also hoped that the sample would yield a workable distribution between those who had experienced little or no unemployment and those who had current or relatively longer

Table 1.4: **Basic structure of the sample according to area, ethnic background and employment experience (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Characteristic	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
Area						
Brunswick-Northcote	32	33	20	36	28	27
Oakleigh-Moorabbin	21	25	33	38	25	25
Sum	53	58	53	74	53	52
Country of birth						
Australia	24	40	42	52	52	50
Overseas	29	18	11	22	1	2
Sum	53	58	53	74	53	52
Age at arrival in Australia						
Born here	24	40	42	52	52	50
Under 10 years	18	16	9	18	1	2
10 years or more	11	2	2	4	-	-
Sum	53	58	53	74	53	52
Employment experience						
Now employed, with less than 4 months' unemployment	27	29	36	40	46	33
Unemployed, or now employed with 4 or more months' unemployment	26	29	17	34	7	19
Sum	53	58	53	74	53	52

experience of unemployment. From Table 1.4 it can be seen that these aims have been achieved with reasonable success.

Throughout the presentation of the results of the survey the terms 'Greek', 'Italian' and 'Anglo-Australian' have been used to refer to the three ethnic groups which have been studied. Thus the term 'Greek' includes the persons of Greek origin who were born in Australia or Greece, the term 'Italian' includes both first and second generation Italians and the term 'Anglo-Australian' includes the control group in the survey whose ethnic background is entirely Australian or British.

Information is also presented in Table 1.4 concerning the birthplace composition within each of the ethnic groups and the age at arrival in Australia among those who were born overseas. From this it can be observed that the majority (around 70 per cent or more) of the Greek females and Italian males and females were born in Australia, but only 45 per cent of the Greek males were. From the next section of the table it can be seen that in fact very few (only 3-5 per cent) of Greek females and Italian males and females came to Australia beyond the age of 10 years, often considered as the critical age with regard to difficulties in adjusting to Australian schools and lifestyle in general. Again there is a higher proportion of the Greek males in the sample (one-fifth) who had come to Australia beyond this age. Obviously the sample of Greek males is slightly different from the others with regard to its birthplace composition and this aspect should be borne in mind during the assessment of the findings from the survey.

The analysis of the results from the survey is preceded by three chapters providing background information essential to the study. These, in turn, deal with a review of the literature relating to the experience of Greek and Italian youth in Australia (Chapter 2), an analysis of the 1976 Census data regarding the schooling and employment of migrant youth in Australia (Chapter 3) and a literature review and description of the development of a set of questions to measure attitudes to work, employment and related issues (Chapter 9).

Discussions and analysis of the demographic data collected on the educational and employment characteristics of the respondents appear in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, while the results of the analysis of the data collected from the attitudinal questions appear in Chapter 10. Finally, the concluding Chapter (Chapter 11) presents a summary and the implications of the entire study.

CHAPTER 2

The experience of immigrant youth in Australia

2.1 Overall patterns

Youth have always constituted a substantial proportion of Australia's post-war immigrant population. It is not surprising therefore that their education, their involvement in recreational pursuits, their mental health and their movement into the workforce have been subjects of constant interest. However, despite this interest it is not possible to draw many general conclusions regarding the integration experiences of immigrant youth, largely because of the very considerable variation in both the youth themselves and their integration experience. For example, the situation of a person arriving in Australia at age 15 is quite different from that of the 15-year-old Australian-born of immigrant parents. Moreover, both the socio-economic-cultural backgrounds of immigrant youth and the situations within which they either arrive or grow up in Australia vary greatly. While it is important, therefore, that we exercise considerable caution when generalising about immigrant youth and their experiences, there are a number of comments that can usefully be made.

It is generally agreed that a majority of immigrant young people from a non-English-speaking background have experienced considerable difficulties in adjusting to life in Australia. These difficulties have included the acquisition of English, academic progress, satisfactory identity development and the achievement of ambitions. Such difficulties have often been seen to be a reflection of inadequacies in the education system, particularly prior to the seventies, of a comparative inability of many immigrant parents to adequately support, in the Australian context, important facets of their children's development and of the complexities of growing up in an environment of distinct and often competing cultural systems.

In regard to the role played by the education system in the development of youth of immigrant origins, Martin (1976) has provided us with an excellent survey of that role. She concludes her survey in the following way:

> It has not been in the past—and still is not—easily demonstrable that the education of these children of migrant origin does present a problem. This paper has been written in the conviction that there is a problem in the sense that, because the educational structures have inadequately responded either to the special needs of many of these children or to the needs which large numbers of them share with other children from low-income families, their school experience is unrewarding, if not an incomprehensible misery and they emerge from it so lacking in competence that for the rest of their lives they will have open to them only the narrowest and most unrewarding options in jobs or further education. The most convincing evidence that this has been—and to a considerable extent still is—the situation of large numbers of children of non-English speaking background comes not from performance data or age-grade retardation (although both offer confirmation) but from the scattered and mostly unheeded observations and pleas of teachers and a few others, such as counselling staff and now more recently the migrant communities themselves, moved to speak out by their personal knowledge of these children and their schools. (Martin 1976: 61–2)

The schools have been criticised for their failure to provide, at an adequate level, the additional teaching resources required by children who enter school with no or little knowledge of English, their failure to make use of and build upon the linguistic and other assets which these children do possess and their failure to develop appropriate bicultural and bilingual teaching methods.

At the same time it seems apparent that parental support and the general home environment play a significant role in the development of children. If this is true then the children of whom Martin is writing are at a further disadvantage in this regard. Their parents frequently possess low levels of education making it nigh impossible for them to assist their children's academic education. Moreover, the poor economic circumstances of many of the parents and the strong economic motivation behind their migration result in family situations where both parents are in the workforce with the father not uncommonly augmenting his income by accepting overtime or taking a second job (Martin, 1975). Not uncommonly, therefore, the children of such families receive little in the way of encouragement, assistance or supervision and grow up in an environment bereft of both books and an atmosphere conducive to study. On the other hand, it has been very obvious to many that these same parents are highly ambitious for their children and are working so hard and at great sacrifice mainly to ensure that their children will not have to follow in their own often weary and frustrated footsteps.

The third and final suggested area of disadvantage lies in the existence of competing cultures in the child's and adolescent's environment. A substantial proportion of the parents of these children of non-English-speaking origins migrated from small towns and villages where the cultures were traditional, cohesive and strongly reinforced and, as such, they differed significantly from the culture which confronted these adults on arrival in Australia. Many of these people found some aspects of Australian culture very disturbing, so that they were encouraged to remain firmly within their culture of origin using it as a bulwark against the unfamiliar and unacceptable characteristics of Australian life. Hence it has often been said that the culture of these people changed more slowly than did that of their counterparts who remained at home. However, while it was possible for many adults to live almost exclusively within the cultural enclaves which they corporately established in Australia, it was not so easy for their children to do so, especially those either born in Australia or arriving here at a young age. At school and within the peer group these children were constantly exposed to values and patterns of behaviour which differed significantly from those of their parents and their peers and were indeed at times directly opposed. So, living simultaneously in two cultural worlds, these young people were confronted with very real and often traumatic dilemmas which could at times retard their development or even, in extreme cases, result in personality disorders. It appears that migrant youth resolve this situation in various ways. Some opt for the Australian culture and, if their family cannot accommodate themselves to this, they may end up severing their ties. Others remain only marginally involved with Australian society and, when circumstances permit, they retreat into the security of the ethnic nest. Others again seem able to hold their two cultural worlds together and are probably the richer for this dual set of influences (Johnston, 1972). The direction taken by any individual seems to be influenced by the age on arrival in Australia, the nature of the parents' social network, personality strengths and weaknesses and, to a lesser degree or more indirectly, a range of other factors.

Within this overall situation the general view is that adolescent arrivals are particularly disadvantaged (Banchevska, 1974: 146H). The already existing demands of adolescent development are intensified by the difficulties in mastering the new environment. The refusal of Australian authorities to provide for the special needs of adolescent and post-adolescent arrivals, as countries like France have done, militates against the successful utilisation by these young people of educational and training facilities. Especially among the non-English -speaking it seems that many adolescent arrivals either never enter such facilities or, if they do, soon withdraw. Given the economic circumstances of their families, either here or back in the country of origin, many are obliged to enter the workforce as soon as possible and devote a large proportion of their income to the support of the family. Even for those born in Australia or arriving at an early age, the adolescent period can be a critical one when issues of value and identity conflict, mostly submerged until this period, are apt to erupt in such a way as to seriously jeopardise the young person's future school and vocational opportunities. If appropriate support is unavailable during these critical years the possibilities of benefitting from the secondary school experience are greatly reduced, with early drop-out, unfulfilled aspirations, unemployment and all the associated frustrations likely to be common phenomena.

One might be tempted to assume from the above comments, which are quite commonly made, that the future of young people of immigrant origin is a bleak one. However, the extent to which young people are in the longer term handicapped by the difficulties referred to is both unknown and likely to vary considerably from ethnic group to ethnic group, from time to time with changes in the Australian socio-economic environment and from place to place with differences in the available facilities. Empirical studies are essential if we are to develop a detailed understanding of the extent to which certain situations affect youth from specific backgrounds in particular contexts.

Martin and Meade (1979) carried out a study of 3043 students in a stratified cluster sample of sixteen schools in Sydney. They found that:

> a substantially greater proportion of children of non-English-speaking origin than of Australian or other English-speaking origin continued to the HSC. . . and a greater proportion of the total number of students of non-English-speaking origin who were enrolled in Grade 9 gained medium or high HSC results than did the Australian or other English-speaking children (Martin & Meade 1979: 11).

So, despite the existence of difficulties, a considerable number of immigrant young people either do not experience them or they manage to overcome them in time to go on and achieve well. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the interaction of the many relevant factors is complex and that the overall results disguise the problems. For example, this same study found that the variation in Higher School Certificate (HSC) results between ethnic groups was considerable, suggesting, as others have, that immigrant status from non-English-speaking background does not in and of itself constitute the problem.

The persistence of specific cultural values from the past, the differing patterns of integration exemplified by the various ethnic groups and other factors may influence the education process to a greater degree than the factor of a non-English-speaking background. This study by Martin and Meade also found, from their analysis of longitudinal data on individual students, that the educational performance of young people of a non-English-speaking origin was less likely to be consistently rated as high, low or medium (Martin & Meade, 1979: 12). The inconsistencies occurred mainly through a combination of high aspirations with medium or low intelligence and School Certificate (SC) and HSC results. This finding confirms the commonly held view that immigrant parental aspirations for their children tend to be high and that this constitutes a, or the, major factor in the children's continued school attendance through to higher grades despite the family's often low socio-economic status, the children's low performance levels and/or the strong possibility of cultural tension affecting the children's development.

From the evidence available one could conclude that a higher proportion of immigrant youth of non-English-speaking origin than is true of the population at large succeed in satisfactorily completing their secondary school. At the same time it seems highly likely that the pathway to success is, for a significant proportion, a rough and stony one. Success, reflect Martin and Meade, is probably a result of 'immense self-control and hard work', of 'strict conformity to the requirements of the authority structure', or of other such patterns of accommodation (Martin & Meade, 1979: 18). Moreover, for those who fail to achieve higher grades, failure may well be associated with more traumatic feelings than are found in the average young person. The parents, given their high investment in their children's vocational pursuits and their possibly lower average ability to assess their children's capabilities, may find it very difficult to understand and accept failure and they may tend to blame the young person, his peer group or lifestyle in such a way that the young person's own frustrations are aggravated.

A small study of a girl's secondary school in Brunswick, Victoria, with 47 per cent of Italian origin and 13 per cent of Greek origin, provides an interesting comment on the widely accepted view that adolescent arrivals possess reduced chances of educational success (Knight, 1977). This study, which compares school stayers and school leavers, suggests that age of arrival and length of residence in Australia may not be as significant factors in early school leaving as the total years of education in the country of birth. The report states:

> School stayers generally arrived at an older age and had more years of secondary school in country of birth. This extended experience with secondary education in country of birth for school stayers might be an advantage in terms of initial consolidation upon arrival in Australia (Knight, 1977: 6).

This study reinforces the suggestion that arrival in Australia during early adolescence creates difficulties. The adolescent arrival has typically received only a very short period of secondary school education in the country of origin and has been unable to consolidate and transfer either the academic or emotional aspects of that experience. The deferral of migration for a further four years is likely, on the basis of the above study, to substantially increase the young person's chances of handling the transition.

The longitudinal study of the initial adjustment to schooling of immigrant families carried out by Taft and Cahill (1978) throws further light on some of the issues which have been raised. These findings suggest that all immigrant children experience some difficulties in adjustment at the academic and emotional levels. The difficulties perceived as inherent in the migrant experience:

> are amplified by the inability of their parents to aid them with their school work or even advise them what to do, due to their distance from the Australian school system (Taft & Cahill, 1978: 108).

The degree of difficulty and the changes which occur over time vary from ethnic group to ethnic group and confirm the importance of the ethnic cultural factor. This study threw up quite striking differences between the South American, Maltese and British samples and concludes that 'the experiences of different nationalities can differ markedly' (Taft & Cahill, 1978: 109). For example, time led to improvement in the performance of the South American children but to deterioration in that of the Maltese. This study also highlights the difficulties of adolescent arrivals.

> The history of the South American adolescents who had migrated with their families was striking and could perhaps be described as tragic (Taft & Cahill, 1978: 108).

Only six of the twenty-five adolescents in the study stayed on at school after they had turned 15 years of age.

An interesting question is whether the immigrant students' experiences affect their perceptions of school. Given the extent of cultural devaluation found in the schools and the learning and adjustment difficulties experienced by many immigrant youth, one would not be surprised to find negative attitudes prevailing. One study, using an essay approach, reported that:

> in most essays and certainly in an overall view, we discovered a mood of complete dissatisfaction, alienation from schools and cynical disillusionment with teachers, learning and education (Humphreys & Newcombe, 1975).

Another study, however, found that the school itself was not the object of strong emotions and that Australian students and second generation immigrant students did not vary greatly on this issue (Connell et al., 1975). In a third study, which also used the essay approach, Sheppard (1978) found a number of examples of first generation immigrants holding their school in high esteem. He concludes that:

> among the majority of the migrant students in this study, there was substantial acceptance and enjoyment of schooling as it is currently practised in Australian high schools. To these students school was a place where you acquired the vocational and social skills necessary for a successful career and at the same time learnt to be a responsible and disciplined member of society. Discipline...was considered to be an inevitable and, in some cases, desirable part of school life (Sheppard, 1978: 103).

This same study reported that the immigrant youth tended to be very career oriented and quite aware of possible obstacles to success. Comparing his findings with some studies of Australian (third generation and more) students, Sheppard (1978:116) concludes that 'migrant students hold more conservative attitudes concerning high school than their Australian peers'. The reasons for this are, he suggests, the following:

> The role of the high school as a vehicle of entry into Australian society is particularly vital to first generation migrants and those of the second generation who fail to assimilate successfully while at primary school. For these...high school is a source of power which can eliminate feelings of ethnic inferiority and open doors to

> positions of security and respect in the receiving society. But to realise this power they realise that they must accept the 'system' as it is and conform to the values and expectations of Australian society held out to them through their school (Sheppard, 1978: 116).

Again we have the suggestion, as put forward by Martin and Meade, of immigrant youth determined to work within the system to achieve the goals of themselves and their parents. Presumably it is therefore difficult for immigrant youth to maintain negative feelings about a school system which is so vital for their life goals. Such an ambivalence may explain the differences between the various studies in relation to attitudes toward school.

A further issue which is central to the present study is that of the transition of immigrant youth from school to work. Although there is a considerable literature on the general topic of the transition from school to work, which is summarised in a chapter in the first report in this series (Young et al., 1980), there is very little specific reference in that literature to immigrants or youth of immigrant origin. The many studies on the special difficulties of migrant children at school do of course imply that a proportion of immigrant youth, especially from categories such as adolescent arrivals and particular ethnic groups, will experience considerable difficulties in moving into the workforce at levels in keeping with their goals and expectations. These difficulties are seen to stem from early drop-out from school in a number of cases, from continuing through to the higher levels of secondary school but failing to pass, of achievements being devalued by potential employers and so on. The assumption of studies on the actual transition itself appears to be that the situation of immigrant youth is little different from that of other youth, except that they are often seen to constitute one of the groups at risk. The following quotation reflects a common opinion:

> For some school leavers, particularly those who are disadvantaged, such as the handicapped, migrants, Aboriginals, women or rural youth, there will be special problems which may require additional assistance (Commonwealth-State Working Party on the Transition from School to Work or Further Study, 1978: 4).

Although the nature and degree of that disadvantage is not made explicit and the existance of disadvantage is usually presented in the form of an hypothesis, it does seem plausible to suggest that a degree of disadvantage is a distinct possibility. Apart from factors deriving from the school experience, in themselves likely to be considerable according to the literature, there are other possible sources of disadvantage related to the families' immigrant and specific ethnic status. Reports on discrimination suggest that immigrants may experience more discrimination than others and that certain ethnic groups are likely to be particularly affected. A further factor might be the limited potential of an immigrant family's social network to assist the youth to obtain employment in certain occupational categories. This can be particularly true if there is considerable discrepancy between the occupational status of parents and that sought by son or daughter and if the parents are comparatively unskilled and/or recently arrived in Australia. Furthermore, cultural factors relating to family cohesion and the acceptable roles of working children may limit the young person's ability to accept employment which requires living away from the family home. Similarly, cultural attitudes may place restrictions on the type of employment acceptable to the family. Available data suggest that young people of particular ethnic background elect to take up certain occupations in large numbers while bypassing other occupations which might seem to be comparable in status and remuneration. While not all of the potentially relevant factors may constitute a disadvantage, it seems likely that there do exist a number of factors likely to influence the transition from school to work of immigrant youth and that some of these factors will in practice represent some degree of disadvantage.

This brief discussion of the experience of immigrant youth in Australia and review of some of the relevant literature suggest that there is a conceptual and empirical pattern of integration which, despite the considerable variation in its applicability to particular categories of immigrant youth, is of considerable importance and should constitute one element in the detailed study of any specific category of immigrant youth.

2.2 The experience of Greek youth in Australia

The statistics of post-war migration to Australia show that some 240 000 Greek citizens have arrived in Australia since 1945, of whom probably over 80 per cent has remained. The greater proportion of this total intake arrived in Australia between 1961–62 and 1970–71. In this period there was a total of 129 430 Greek arrivals (Dept of Immigration Statistics). Many of these were of course children and youth and other children were born following arrival in Australia. As a result, in 1978, 2.35 per cent of the Australian population was of Greek origin, being outnumbered only by the British, Italian and German groups (Price, 1979: A18).

Those Greeks who arrived during the heyday of Greek migration to this country were predominantly unskilled or semi-skilled people from the rural areas of Greece who were seeking better economic opportunities for themselves and their children (Walters et al., 1977: 103). They brought with them, among other things, a strong sense of their Greek identity, an ability and a willingness to work hard and a healthy respect for education. The society from which they emigrated was one where the basic unit was the family understood in its extended sense, where a love of honour (*philotimo*) determined much of behaviour as well as questions of status and it was a traditional-type society where roles were clearly defined (Walters et al., 1977: 93).

In the integration context such a background has been sometimes presented as a disadvantage. It has been seen as diverging from the Australian situation in some significant respects and as therefore constituting an inadequate preparation for the urban and industrialised society into which these immigrants settled. However, it is equally plausible to argue that the Greek background constitutes a very advantageous base for integration. The very strengths and nature of traditional family life constitute a bulwark against possible confusion: the strong sense of identity, honour and self-respect which prevails can be a protection against alienation, rejection and anonymity and the high value placed on work and education augur well for success in a society where such values are essential to success in the most commonly accepted sense of that word.

However, since the heyday of Greek migration to Australia the situation has changed. Greek immigrants arriving in the last 10 to 15 years are very likely to have had experience of urban industrialised life in either the cities of Greece or those of western Europe where many Greeks worked as migrant workers. Even with those earlier arrivals who had migrated directly from the rural areas, their by now long period of residence in Australia had resulted in significant changes as some of the values and aspects of lifestyle of the surrounding community filtered through into family life. In her study of cultural change among Greeks in Australia, Mackie (1975) emphasises the role which children play in this change. She writes:

> It seems, then, that cultural change away from exclusively Greek values often accompanies the growth of children within the family, and leads to meaningful personal perspectives for parents who can cope with changes if these take place in a familiar context of social relationships (Mackie, 1975: 109).

Certainly for those many young people of Greek origin who are now in secondary school or in their early years in the workforce, it will not be rural Greece that constitutes their most relevant background. Rather it will be a combination of Greek culture as it has developed in Melbourne, of the lingering memories and implications of that vital period for Greeks of the fifties and sixties and of the current situation with its high levels of unemployment and related attitudes of youth.

The fifties and sixties, when so many of the Greeks arrived, was a period when it was possible to work hard, to save, to gradually improve one's accommodation and to accumulate some of the trappings of a high standard of living. At the same time it was for many Greeks a period characterised by long hours of unpleasant and physically demanding work, of both parents working and of a feeling of being looked down upon by many of the Australian-born. Moreover, during this period many felt apprehensive about their children as they left them in unsatisfactory child-care arrangements, watched them struggle with English during their primary school years or worried about the 'Australian' values they were absorbing from, in their view, the unacceptable elements of the secondary school population. This period is certain to have had a profound effect upon Greek parental attitudes, often reinforcing attitudes which derived from the old country while coexisting with other values acquired from interaction with Australian society.

The experiences of this period reinforced in Greek parents the already high levels of educational and occupational aspirations for their children. They were determined that their children would not have to work as they did. Many developed very negative attitudes towards the State School system and, if increasing prosperity permitted, they arranged for their children to enter private schools. Many became very protective of their children and sought to influence the nature of their peer group and lifestyle. This was a period that made a great impact on relevant parental attitudes.

At the same time, the Greek population in Melbourne was working to build what was probably the most comprehensive network of ethnic institutions to be found in any ethnic group in Australia (Tsounis, 1975; Cox, 1975a). Greek Orthodox churches, community schools, regional associations, sporting clubs, theatres, dancehalls and restaurants opened in large numbers making it possible for those who chose to live out almost every aspect of their life in a Greek environment to do so. This development had the effect of perpetuating and reinforcing many aspects of Greek culture, of maintaining and expanding the ethnic networks of those involved and of buttressing many of the important cultural characteristics against the inroads of foreign influences. To the degree that Greek youth were involved in Greek ethnic life they were strongly influenced in the direction of Greek values and the available evidence suggests that many were in fact closely involved in the life of the Greek community, both through family involvement in kin and more formal gatherings and through their involvement as youth in another set of activities within the Greek community (Cox, 1975b). For many this social involvement was complemented by Greek language and cultural instruction in the Greek schools and by the active desire of many parents to inculcate a sense of Greekness in their children.

Nor was the Greek community concerned only with developments within itself. As it developed more confidence and leadership in the late sixties and early seventies, it both requested and worked hard to obtain the introduction of modern Greek studies in Australian schools, the recruitment by the Education Department of Greek-speaking teachers, the establishment of Greek parent associations in local schools and other related developments. In very many of these areas a considerable degree of success was obtained. Modern Greek was introduced as an HSC subject, a Chair of Modern Greek was established at the University of Melbourne, many Greek parents became active within the school system and, speaking generally, it seemed that the scene was set for the successful utilisation by a majority of young people of Greek origin of the education system. This is not to suggest for a moment that the continuing low socio-economic status of many Greek families, the high proportion of Greek working mothers, the low educational standards of many parents and the sharp contrasts between certain aspects of the interacting Greek and Australian cultures might not jeopardise the educational progress of a number of Greek young people. To determine to what degree Greek youth are influenced by the various competing factors we need to study the available data.

An inquiry into migrant youth conducted in the early seventies included a survey of participation in youth organistions by migrant youth (Aust. Immigration Advisory Council, 1971). The results of this survey showed that first generation Australian-born Greeks had the highest participation of all groups in youth clubs—some 75 per cent indicated membership. Among the overseas-born Greeks the percentage fell to 38. However, these high figures applied only to boys and Greek girls had the lowest figures. The nature of the clubs to which the Greeks belonged is not indicated but, for first generation youth generally, ethnic clubs constituted only 1.8 per cent of all clubs. In the conclusions, which stated that 'proportionately fewer children of immigrant parents join Australian youth clubs, compared with native Australians', the following comment is made concerning Greek boys:

> the high degree of involvement in clubs among first generation Greek boys is considered to be consistent with what is known about intergenerational conflict in such families and is possibly explained by a desire on their part to play a full social role and doubts about their ability to do so. A high proportion of Greek families retain the national language in the home (Aust. Immigration Advisory Council, 1971: 38).

Whatever the reasons, Greek males were more involved in youth clubs than were the youth of any other ethnic group other than the British, according to this inquiry.

In 1975 Taft published the results of a series of studies relating to the career aspirations of immigrant school children in Victoria (Taft, 1975). His 1967 study revealed that over 50 per cent of Greek fathers were in unskilled or semi-skilled work, that the Greeks had comparatively high educational aspirations but that a disproportionate number of them repeated the matriculation year and that probably they sustained a higher drop-out rate from tertiary institutions. His 1971 study of Form II students found again that the Greeks had a particularly high proportion who intended to reach at least Form VI standard and that those from working class backgrounds had much higher occupational aspirations than Australian-born from similar backgrounds.

Isaacs' (1976) study of Greek children in Sydney in the early seventies provides a good overview of Greek community life and its implications for school children. It emphasises the degree to which the young people were involved in part-time employment while at school. It points out that even the Australian-born Greek children begin school with little or no knowledge of English. Isaacs comments that:

> When the migrant child (of Greek origin) enters secondary school the new extensions to his already weak educational basis militate against him and few survive the secondary level of education (Isaacs, 1976: 92).

This report refers also to conflict around discipline.

> Another area of conflict is the teachers' and parents' views of discipline. At school the teacher regards discipline, obedience and punctuality as necessary and essential; at home the Greek child experiences discipline differently; parents do not always insist upon obedience or punctuality (Isaacs, 1976: 96).

The possibility of conflict around cultural issues was likely to be intensified by the finding that significant numbers of the Greek children made few Australian friends, while some even felt rejected by Australians. In relation to parental attitudes to school Isaacs writes:

> Parents are ambivalent: they regard school as essential for education, which can in turn be translated into a good job and financial security. But they also see it as a threat to their struggle to preserve whatever of the Greek customs and tradition they can. Above all they want it to get on with the business of teaching (Isaacs, 1976: 10).

While the parents mostly had high aspirations for their children, the children themselves Isaacs found to be more aware of reality as the following table shows.

Table 2.1: **Pupils' educational and vocational goals, Sydney 1976**

Educational goals	Boys	Girls	Vocational goals	Boys	Girls
Higher school certificate	16	14	Professional	16	12
School certificate	20	11	Skilled	35	27
Leave school at fifteen	17	12	Semi-skilled	3	5
Do not know	7	10	Do not know	6	3
Total	60	47	Total	60	47

Source: Isaacs (1976), p.104

The general status of Greek families in 1973 is well summarised in a study carried out in that year (APIC, 1976). This study found that 64 per cent of Greek households consisted of three or four persons, that 25 per cent were below the poverty line, that 63 per cent of wives were participating in the labour force, that 66 per cent had experienced problems with language in the last twelve months and that generally speaking:

> Greek migrants in Australia suffer severe social and economic disadvantage measured against absolute standards of expectation in Australian society (APIC, 1976: 108).

Although this study makes no reference to youth, it does set out very well the family situation from which many Greek youths embarked upon the task of education. Many features of that situation constituted a real disadvantage. Nor was the situation assisted by the inadequate facilities of many of the schools where Greek students were concentrated. A survey of inner suburban schools in Melbourne conducted in 1973 by the Greek community concluded that the facilities available within those schools for Greek children were extremely inadequate (Greek Orthodox Community, 1973). Such a finding is confirmed by Martin's very detailed review of developments in migrant education up to that time (Price and Martin, 1976).

Another study of interest is Browning's (1979) study of parental attitudes to and aspirations for, their children's education carried out in New South Wales. In a study of 250 parents she contrasted six major ethnic groups and a further composite one. On the question of parental aspirations three main issues were studied in relation to their children's futures—the level of schooling they anticipated they would obtain, the type of further training they hoped they would undertake and the occupation they desired them to obtain. With the seven groups rated as possessing high, moderate or low aspirations, the Greeks and the Turks were the only groups to be rated high on all three issues. However, as in Isaacs' study, Browning found a significant difference in attitudes towards various aspects of education between the Greek parents and their children. She concludes that:

> Such differences could well be the source of potential conflict within Greek and Italian families, inhibiting both the academic progress and personality development of the children (Browning, 1979: 210).

Despite these differences, given the strong supportive attitudes of the parents it could be anticipated that Greek students should perform reasonably well at school. Browning did examine student performance on the basis of teacher ratings and she found that the Greeks had the highest mean rating. She concludes:

> The Greeks in this study seem to have broken the language barrier and to be succeeding despite handicaps such as low socio-economic background, poor levels of parental education and very little and poor quality English spoken in the homes. (Browning, 1979: 210).

The findings of the study carried out by Martin and Meade (1979) are consistent with those of Browning's study. They found that a higher proportion of Greek parents than those of any other group wanted their children to continue at school until achieving the HSC level. In relation to performance they found that a higher proportion of Greek students pass the HSC level than is true of any other group of students with parents born in a non-English-speaking country—57 per cent compared with the next highest rate of 46 per cent. Moreover, students whose parents were born in non-English-speaking countries as a group gained a higher proportion of HSC levels than did those whose parents were both Australian-born.

It seems possible that we have two competing sets of forces. The general socio-economic situation prevailing in many Greek families, the low levels of English ability at entry to school and the possible cultural conflicts and related parental ambivalent attitudes towards the school are likely to impede educational progress and may even lead to leaving school before obtaining the School Certificate or with a low rated School Certificate, as in fact a total 30 per cent of Martin and Meade's Greek sample do. Such difficulties may lead also to low level HSCs, to repeating the HSC year and to problems in moving into desired tertiary courses. The competing set of factors revolves around the high level of parental aspiration and this seems sufficiently strong to overcome the disadvantages of the above set of factors in a majority of situations, as far as the data considered suggest. To determine the final outcome, data are required on the proportion of Greek youth who enter tertiary education, their performance at that level and a comparison of their occupational achievements and their goals. Unfortunately such data are not available.

A study carried out by one of the authors of this present study in the early 1970s suggests that a number of Greek youth either never attended school or remained at school for only a short period (Cox, 1975b). In the course of that study forty-two boys from the Dodecanese islands in Greece who had arrived in Australia aged between 10 and 20 years were interviewed. Although one half of the boys said that they had come to Australia to further their education, the following was the outcome. Of the fourteen who arrived aged under 15:

> Four of them never started school. Two went for less than six months and gave up in frustration. Two others went for one full year and left with still only a poor grasp of English. One boy attended for four years and left at age fourteen accredited with a sixth grade level of education. The remaining five gained something from the education system. Two completed apprenticeships and three went on to finish either five or six grades of secondary school. The majority of these boys spoke with considerable bitterness about their school experiences (Cox, 1975, b: 166).

None of the twenty-eight boys who arrived aged 15 or above entered full-time school. Three attempted night classes but quickly gave up. As regards the vocational training of these forty-two boys:

> Two-thirds of the boys said that they had wanted to learn a trade in Australia and four-fifths of those had failed to achieve this ambition (Cox, 1975, b: 167).

This study suggests that the generally prevailing opinion of the very real difficulties faced by the adolescent arrival in Australia applies to arrivals from Greece.

There appears to be a dearth of studies relating to the work experiences of young Greeks. The above study by Cox studied the work experiences of a small sample of Greek boys and reached some conclusions. However, the boys covered in this study were first generation and often adolescent or post-adolescent arrivals so that, in terms of the total Greek youth population, it represents an atypical sample. These boys worked largely in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, most found their positions through their ethnic contacts, the majority displayed fairly high levels of job mobility due largely to their inability to obtain the kinds of jobs they sought and lack of satisfaction with the position obtained and the majority worked mainly with fellow Greeks and expressed mixed feelings towards those Australians whom they had met through work. Of the work experiences of Australian-born Greeks and of very young arrivals very little seems to be known. One purpose of the research which follows was to do something towards rectifying that situation.

In conclusion, there appears to be considerable material available relating to the situations within the Greek communities in Australia, the experiences of Greeks with the education system, the aspirations of Greek parents for their children and the performance of Greek young people in secondary education. On the whole this material suggests a high level of difficulty in coping with education and some indications of strong criticism about some aspects of that system. On the other hand, it suggests also a high level of acceptance of the system and a generally high level of performance within it. What is not clear is the ultimate outcome of that educational experience in terms of what happens within both tertiary education and the workforce.

2.3 The experience of Italian youth in Australia

In the period 1947–78 an estimated 366 873 persons of Italian origin arrived in Australia, of whom 274 429 remained (Price, 1979: A18). In addition to these arrivals Price has estimated that, between 1962 and 1978, there were 150 702 births in Australia where the mother was Italian-born and 192 039 births where the father was Italian-born. On the basis of available data Price places the proportion of the Australian population in 1978 of Italian origin at 4.17 per cent, or some 570 500 persons. The big proportion of Italian immigrants arrived in Australia in the 1951–61 period, with a peak in 1955–56 and this is, therefore, a comparatively early post-war movement to Australia. However, a substantial movement continued during the 1960s with considerably smaller numbers since then.

The statistics reveal that a large majority of the immigrants from Italy were unskilled and semi-skilled people migrating predominantly from a rural background. This was particularly true in the main period of the movement; however, in the 1960s and since then a much higher proportion of

Italian arrivals than previously had lived and worked in urban areas of Italy itself, as well as in other western European cities. Much of the earlier movement was prompted by the underdevelopment of the south of Italy:

> South Italy has traditionally been a rural society with vast differences in wealth between landowners and peasants and almost none of the mercantile middle class which developed in the north. The rural people have generally lived in villages, going out daily to work on their small plots of poor land, often some distance from the village. The large proportion of these people were tenants or labourers who were paid by the day and owned no land of their own. Rents and wages were often paid in kind and barter or exchange of services for goods was common. Poverty was widespread and although most of the destitute could find some means of survival, it was generally by the precarious means of gleaning, picking wild greenstuffs and running up debts (Walters et al., 1977: 50).

However, change has occurred at an increasingly rapid rate in the post World War II period as Walters points out:

> The isolation of village life, cut off by lack of communications from the wider life of the nation, was one of the factors preserving old customs, values and standards. One of the major changes in the south has been a revolution in transport and communication, which has opened up the villages to urban influences. Although road systems remain poor throughout the south, all villages are now accessible to the motor car. The motor car is also more generally available and tends to be one of the first acquisitions of the returning migrant. Postal and telephone services have improved. The mass media, radio and television, have reached into village life. . . Returning migrant workers have imported new ideas derived from their experiences of city life. . . A desire for the 'good things of life'. . . now forms an additional motivation for migration (Walters et al., 1977: 51).

Most analyses of the Italian rural culture from which so many of Australia's immigrants come emphasise several characteristics which are pertinent to the subject of this study. One crucial characteristic is the role assumed by the family. Subjugation of personal interests to the family's common interests on the part of all members and the maintenance of the family's honour were said to be pre-eminent values. The individual members existed for the family and not the reverse (Banfield, 1958; Walters et al., 1977). Very relevant to the educational and occupational pursuits of daughters in Australia could well be the common emphasis of those times on a girl's protection and preparation for marriage, as well as the suitability of the actual match itself. The son, however, was also subject to certain responsibilities which were considered to be in the family's interests. These were, particularly after a father's death, the economic support of the family, the protection of unmarried sisters and the provision of their dowries and the general maintenance of the family's honour. While the parents were alive the children were expected to give them their complete allegiance.

In relation to education it should be pointed out that until the early 1960s full-time school in Italy was a rarity, secondary education was not compulsory and the illiteracy rate was high. It was thus unrealistic for the poverty-stricken parents in the rural south to hold high educational aspirations for their children. One study sums up the situation in the following way:

> Attitudes in Italy to the importance of education are linked with social class, social mobility and sex, although there has been a degree of change in general attitudes as education has become more generally available. The peasant tends to link education with success in life. . . . Thus education is recognised by many parents as a path to a better life, occupationally, financially and socially, both for their sons and their daughters, although generally there is less interest in education for girls than for boys.
>
> There are still many peasants and working-class parents, however, who can see little point in continuing education for the boys whose immediate earnings are needed to add to the family income and for the girls whose destined role is that of wife and mother. In the migration situation, precarious financial circumstances and the high priority placed on the achievement of economic goals may accentuate these attitudes and affect the successful completion of education (Walters et al, 1977:73).

Clearly one would anticipate some change in this situation once an Italian family settled in Australia, although such change may require a reasonable period of residence.

The family background of a proportion of the Italian young people in this study is likely to be that of semi-skilled or unskilled parents, many of whom would not have been educated beyond primary school and who would have arrived in Australia with few assets. However, our interest goes beyond the background from which many of the Italians came to embrace an understanding of their most likely experiences within Australia. Some information on these experiences comes from a 1973 survey which covered a large sample of Italian families (APIC, 1976). This study found most families to be comparatively large, a comparatively high percentage to be poor or very poor, a low rate of participation of wives in the labour force and a significant number troubled by language difficulties. It should be noted that this survey covered only 1963–73 arrivals and the situation of earlier arrivals would be expected to be somewhat better. A more comprehensive profile of the Italian population is to be found in another very recent publication (Ware, 1981).

Studies of the residential concentration of Italians have shown only moderate concentration in comparison with some other ethnic groups, particularly the Maltese and Greeks (Burnley, 1971; Burnley et al., 1975). In recent years this is likely to have been reduced further. Also the Roman Catholic allegiance of the majority of Italians would seem to have reduced the need for a very high level of institutional development such as is found among the Greeks. However, there has been considerable development in some areas such as Italian language classes, the establishment of social clubs and the provision of welfare facilities (Cox, 1975a). The extent to which Italians are beginning to merge into the wider community is very difficult to gauge but, despite the above developments, it is likely to be considerable, especially among the Australian-born as they marry and establish homes. On the other hand, it is likely that family life remains a very strong feature of the Italian community as it was in the fifties and sixties when it was supported by a high level of chain migration as well as the operation of certain cultural values.

There is not a great deal of readily available information on Italian young people in Australia. The Good Neighbour Council survey carried out in 1965–66 covered quite a large number of Italian youth (GNG, 1967). In relation to many of the aspects of life considered, both the Italian and Greek young people revealed a certain amount of variation from the perceived norm. For example, 23 per cent of the young Italians 'claimed to disagree with their parents over social outings' compared with only 13 per cent of young Australians; Italian girls were more likely to live at home than others, which seems consistent with cultural traditions; southern European girls generally mixed with boys far less frequently than did the girls of other backgrounds and even the boys had more limited opportunities to mix with girls. One-third of southern European youth chose fellow migrants as friends, which was significantly more than with other immigrants, while Italians and Greeks were particularly noticeable in drawing their friends from a very restricted social context.

In the early 1970s the Immigration Advisory Council asked the National Youth Council of Australia to carry out a survey of the participation of youth of migrant origin in youth organisations (Aust. Immigration Advisory Council, 1971). This survey found that rates for both Italian males and females were comparatively low compared with other groups, especially with the overseas-born girls who were surpassed in relation to low participation only by the Greek girls. The survey found that low participation rates were associated with not speaking English at home, with fathers working in lower status jobs and with mothers being in the workforce. Southern European non-club members usually gave lack of spare time as the reason for not joining; however, the strong impression gained from these youth was that they 'did not identify with the aims and the activities offered by many of the clubs for young people' (Aust. Immigration Advisory Council, 1971: 35).

These studies were all carried out over a decade ago and it cannot be assumed that they reflect the current situation. In more recent studies, while Italian youth are frequently referred to in relation to the school situation, little emerges regarding their general lifestyle outside that school setting. Let us turn then to the literature on Italians at school.

The numbers of students of Italian origin are high—in 1976 an estimated 45 000 5–9-year-olds, 49 500 10–14-year-olds and 43 000 15–19-year-olds—so that the Italians tend to rate a separate mention in the majority of studies. Studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s tend for the most part to present the Italian children as an educationally disadvantaged group. This was most commonly attributed to the parents' poor educational background, language difficuties and the nature of both the type of area and type of school where many received their schooling. However, there was even then some evidence that higher educational levels were related to longer length of residence, so it could be anticipated that the situation would have improved with time.

The questions of student aspirations and of parental aspirations in relation to their children's education are important ones and are commonly raised. There are, however, some discrepancies in the conclusions reached. In 1975 Taft found that:

> The Italian students had comparatively high aspirations: 74 per cent planned university or teachers college in the next year (Taft, 1975: 25).

These high aspirations were confirmed in the follow-up to that study when it was found that a disproportionate number of Italian origin repeated their matriculation (HSC) year. As Taft writes:

> They showed much determination in the pursuit of their educational goals until reality finally brought the hard battle for high academic attainment to an end for many of them (Taft, 1975: 29).

In a similar study of Form II students in 1975 Taft found that:

> the aspirations of the working class Italian males were high but those of the girls were very low. Only 10 per cent of the Italian working class girls intended to reach Form VI, 38 per cent below the figure for the boys, thus confirming the generally held opinion that working class Italian girls are discouraged from pursuing a higher education. There were too few middle class Italian girls in the sample to investigate whether this bias carries over beyond the working class (Taft, 1975: 58).

In 1977 a study was carried out of children of migrant origin in the Ovens and King Valleys in north-east Victoria (Victorian Country Education Project, 1979). Among other things they looked at parental aspirations for their children. This study found that over 74 per cent of Italian-born parents wanted their sons to at least finish high school or go to university or teachers college and 87 per cent wanted at least the completion of high school for their daughters. This discrepancy between sons and daughters was:

> ...perhaps accounted for by the higher percentage of Italian born parents who want technical school education for their sons rather than for their daughters (Victorian Country Education Project, 1979: 53).

This study distinguishes between southern and northern Italians and found that, whereas 34 per cent of northern Italian parents wanted university or teachers college for their sons, 63 per cent of southern Italian parents did so. A similar difference applied in relation to daughters.

The study by Martin and Meade (1979) in Sydney, 1974–77, found that Italian parents had high educational aspirations for their children in contrast with many other groups. Some 69 per cent of Italian parents wanted their children to continue at school to the HSC level. They also found that these children stayed on at school longer despite a low level of performance as the school assesses it. This finding confirms that of Taft (1975) in Melbourne. On the other hand, Browning's (1979) study came out with somewhat different findings. Her study rated six major ethnic groups in terms of the parents' hopes for their children in regard to school, post-school education and future occupation. She found that 'the aspirations of the Italian parents were low' in all three areas (Browning, 1979: 209). She suggests that this may be due to increasing acceptance of the ideas and values of Australian peers as the length of residence increases and language barriers are overcome.

Most studies suggest that the educational aspirations of Italian parents and students alike are comparatively high, but probably lower for girls and possibly reducing to more realistic levels with increasing periods of residence in this country. The same studies, however, go on to suggest that actual achievements do not reflect these high aspirations.

Taft found Italian students repeating their matriculation year at a higher than average rate and also experiencing difficulties in their examinations. In the follow-up study he also found that:

> The academic achievements in tertiary institutions of the non-English-speaking group was lower than that of the English-speaking group (Taft, 1975: 25).

One assumes that this conclusion applied to the Italian group as well as to others. In the study by Wright et al.(1978), although once again ethnic groups were not distinguished, it was found that more immigrants stayed on after Form IV but slightly fewer gained the HSC.

Martin and Meade examined the performance of a number of immigrant students on a longitudinal basis and found that the students of a non-English-speaking origin had less consistent educational profiles than did others:

> The mismatches of students of non-English-speaking origin were due mainly to the combination of high aspirations with medium or low IQ and SC/HSC results (Martin & Meade, 1979: 12).

The relevance of this to the Italian students is demonstrated in the following figures. Thirteen per cent of students with Italian-born parents left school before the SC, 50 per cent gained SC results but left before HSC and 39 per cent gained HSC levels. These results compare unfavourably with all other groups except the Maltese and Lebanese.

Finally in this area, Browning's (1979) study of the mean ratings for school achievement across ethnic groups shows the Italians as having a below average mean. The analysis reveals that this outcome is not related to socio-economic status, sex, level of parents' education, reasons for migrating, length of residence or students' years of schooling overseas. The one variable to correlate highly with the achievement levels was parental aspirations. Here the aspirations of the Italian parents were low as were achievement levels. It must be borne in mind that this study was confined to workingclass areas and the findings may not be relevant to those who have moved out into middle class areas.

The logical question to move on to is what then happens to Italian young people as they accept their inability to achieve their educational aspirations, if this is in fact a common outcome and leave school? What type of employment do they seek to enter, what type of employment do they in reality find and do they in time take steps to improve further their situations? On such questions the literature is silent but this current study throws some light on these and related questions.

CHAPTER 3

Characteristics of the teenage migrant workforce

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the findings from the 1976 Census concerning the transition from school to work and the employment patterns of migrant youth in Australia with special reference to the experience of youth with Greek and Italian ethnic origins, Greece and Italy being the two countries featured in the main analysis, and of youth from Lebanon and Turkey, who were the subjects of research in the previous related study (Young et al., 1980), in comparison with the experience of the Australian-born population. Most of the discussion relates to the 15-19-year-old age group, although at times it draws on the experience of 20-24-year-olds, or older age groups, for comparison or as an indication of the possible direction of future trends.

In this discussion several factors are considered, including the age of leaving school, the proportion still at school and the proportions of school leavers who are employers, employees, unemployed or not in the labour force. Also considered are differences according to marital status, and between first and second generations within ethnic groups, occupational distribution and the proportions with qualifications. Unfortunately it has not been possible to incorporate a discussion of the influence of duration of residence because the data collected on this in the 1976 Census contains a large component of almost one-third 'not stated', thus making it unreliable.

One aspect which is appropriate to refer to in this introductory section is the balance between first and second generation Greeks and Italians in the population. (The 1976 Census data provide no information about the numbers of second generation Lebanese and Turks.) In this context first generation is taken to refer to Greek and Italian youth who were born in those countries, while second generations refers to Australian-born children with one or both parents born in Greece or Italy.

It is generally recognised that persons born in Australia of non-Australian parents may carry with them a combination of Australian and Greek or Italian characteristics including attitudes to family life, education and work. Therefore, in several instances in the subsequent discussion on the transition from school to work, the experience of young people who are second generation Greek and Italian is compared with that of young Greek- and Italian-born persons.

In terms of actual numbers, at the young adult ages (15-19 and 20-24 years) there are actually higher numbers of Australian-born Greeks and Italians than Greek-born and Italian-born persons. When only the father's birthplace is taken into account, at ages 15-19 years approximately one-third of Greek-Australian children were born in Greece and about one-quarter of Italian-Australian children were born in Italy. At ages 20-24 years the proportions are nearer two-thirds and one-half, respectively (See Table 3.1). Naturally, the proportions would be lower if Australian-born children with Greek- or Italian-born mothers were also included. The reason for including only fathers in this discussion is that for the 1980-81 interview survey of school leavers children were selected according to their surname and so would normally be identified as being of Greek or Italian origin only if their father was Greek or Italian.

3.2 General background

Labour force participation

One interesting feature of the labour force in Australia is the diversity in experience between different groups of the population and, in particular, between different birthplace groups. With

Table 3.1: **Distribution of Greek and Italian persons according to whether they are Greek- and Italian-born, or are Australian-born with Greek- and Italian-born fathers (males and females in age groups 15-19, 20-24 and 25-34 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

Age group (years)	*Greek-born*		*Australian-born with Greek-born father*		*Sum*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
15-19	33.9	35.6	66.1	64.4	100.0	100.0
20-24	63.7	69.3	36.3	30.7	100.0	100.0
25-34	89.2	75.7	10.8	24.3	100.0	100.0

Age group (years)	*Italian-born*		*Australian-born with Italian-born father*		*Sum*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
15-19	24.3	23.9	75.7	76.1	100.0	100.0
20-24	50.6	50.9	49.4	49.1	100.0	100.0
25-34	84.3	57.0	15.7	43.0	100.0	100.0

regard to the level of labour force participation, birthplace differences are greater among females than among males. Overall labour force participation rates are lowest among Lebanese women, remaining around 40 per cent from ages 20 to 54 years, while at the other extreme Turkish women have high labour force participation rates, particularly at the young adult ages (75 per cent at ages 25-34 and 35-44 years). Overall Italian-born women have labour force participation rates which are very similar to those of the Australian-born women—rates of 50-51 per cent at ages 15-19 years, 62-65 per cent at ages 20-24 years, 48-49 per cent at ages 25-34 years, 56 per cent at ages 35-44 years and 49 per cent at ages 45-54 years. While the labour force participation rates of 15-19-year-old Greek females are almost as low as those for Lebanese females at these ages, their rates increase at the older ages and exceed those of Italian women at ages 25-54 years. This aspect is also discussed in Chapter 7 in Young et al. (1980).

Unemployment

Until 1974 Australia had very low levels of unemployment in comparison with other developed countries, but since then unemployment levels have also increased here, and the rate of unemployment of the total workforce in 1981 is now in the region of 6 per cent. Unemployment rates are particularly high in the 15-19-year-old age group, reflecting the special problems in the entry of school leavers into the workforce under the current depressed economic situation.

Recent surveys of unemployed youth and research on youth employment were referred to in Chapter 6 of the earlier Turkish and Lebanese study (Young et al., 1980). Since then the issue of youth unemployment has continued to attract dicussion in the form of conferences and research papers, for example, the conference on Youth, Schooling and Unemployment in Sydney in November 1980 (Australian Association for Research in Education, 1980) and the conference on Youth, Education and Training in February last year in Canberra (Academy of Social Science and Centre for Economic Policy Research, 1981). Recent research studies include Gregory and Duncan (1980), Gregory and Paterson (1980), Miller (1981), South Australian Education Department (1979) and Stricker and Sheehan (1981).

Although the majority of these studies relate to the experience of all males and females in selected age groups there are further differences in levels of unemployment between other subgroups of the population, notably between the Australian-born and overseas-born groups. The unemployment

Table 3.2: Unemployment rates of males and females in Australia according to age and the countries of birth, Australia, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)

	Age group (years)							
Birthplace	*15–19*	*20–24*	*25–34*	*35-44*	*45–54*	*55–59*	*60–64*	*65=*
				Males (%)				
Australia	11.0	6.2	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.8	3.1	2.1
United Kingdom	12.6	7.3	3.2	2.6	3.0	3.4	4.8	3.3
New Zealand	14.7	12.3	4.5	3.2	1.3	4.8	4.8	2.7
Greece	12.5	7.2	4.5	3.9	2.9	3.3	6.6	6.1
Italy	8.8	4.7	3.2	2.7	2.3	2.7	4.4	3.9
Lebanon	14.7	13.0	10.5	10.4	9.5	12.0	9.4	5.6
Turkey	15.9	9.0	5.9	7.4	8.6	7.8	8.7	17.1
				Females (%)				
Australia	13.6	5.6	3.0	2.3	2.2	2.3	1.7	3.0
United Kingdom	16.3	7.2	4.1	3.4	3.2	3.1	2.4	4.6
New Zealand	19.4	11.3	4.4	3.4	3.7	2.9	1.2	3.1
Greece	10.6	6.2	5.2	4.2	5.4	11.4	15.1	19.8
Italy	12.1	5.1	4.0	3.3	3.6	4.9	6.9	13.2
Lebanon	21.7	14.2	10.1	9.8	10.6	14.0	33.3	24.0
Turkey	17.4	10.2	5.8	9.9	11.6	15.6	15.4	23.1

rates of the overseas-born population have always been somewhat higher than those for the Australian-born population in the same age group and these differences have increased as the level of unemployment has increased. At September 1981, among 15-19-year-old males, unemployment rates of the Australian-born were 11.3 per cent, while those of the overseas-born were 18.9 per cent. Among 15-19-year-old females in the same year the corresponding values were 16.7 and 20.7 per cent respectively (see also section 7.9 in Young et al., 1980).

The 1976 Census provides the most recent information on levels of unemployment by age for separate birthplace groups and this information is given in Table 3.2. Since the data refer to 1976, they reflect a level of unemployment rather lower than is currently being experienced. Nevertheless, the information in the table still points to differences between the various birthplaces. Again there is a consistent pattern in that unemployment rates are highest at ages 15-19 years within all the birthplace groups. However, the Lebanese are unusual in that their unemployment rates remain high at the later ages—for example among males, from a level of 15 per cent at ages 15-19 years the rates fall only to 13 per cent at ages 20-24 years and remain around 10 per cent over ages 25-64 years. In contrast, the unemployment rates of Greek males begin at 12 per cent at ages 15-19 years, fall to 7 per cent at ages 20-24 years and remain in the region of 3-4 per cent at ages 25-59 years.

At ages 15-19 years, among males, the unemployment rates in 1976 varied from 11.0 per cent for the Australian-born, to 12.5 per cent for the Greek-born, 8.8 for the Italian-born, 14.7 for the Lebanese and 15.9 per cent for the Turkish youth. Among females in the same age group the unemployment rates in 1976 were 13.6 for the Australian-born, 10.6 for Greek, 12.1 for Italian, 21.7 for Lebanese and 17.4 per cent for Turkish girls.

The reader will note that all the discussion on unemployment levels has focussed on age-specific experience. This is because there is a danger in comparing unemployment rates calculated for total populations, arising from the fact that the age structures of some birthplace groups may differ from those of others. Unemployment rates show a marked variation with age and are particularly high at ages 15-19 years. Therefore, a population with a higher proportion of teenagers in the age range 15-64 years (such as the Australian-born population) would show a larger overall unemployment rate than other population with a different age structure even if their age-specific unemployment rates were the same.

3.3 School work structure and age at leaving school

An important dimension in the study of the teenage labour force is the ages at which these young people left school. Not only does this determine the proportion who are still at school and hence the labour force participation rates, but it also influences the level of qualifications of school leavers, to some extent also affecting their level of unemployment and their prospects of finding a high status job.

Age at leaving school

When attempting to assess differences in age patterns of leaving school there is a problem caused by the fact that a large proportion of the 15-19 year age group has not yet left school and only persons reaching the end of their nineteenth year have been 'at risk' of leaving school during the full age range to 19 years. Accordingly, by merely observing the age distribution of leaving school among this age group, one could gain the false impression that the school leaving age pattern included a higher proportion leaving at the younger ages than was really the case. It is possible to overcome this by making an adjustment for the reduced exposure to 'risk' of leaving school at each of the younger ages within the 15-19 year age group.

The population 'at risk' of leaving school up to each single age (from 12 to 19 years) can be derived from 1976 tabulations of single age by sex by birthplace. With such information it is possible to calculate the proportion of a given population who would leave school at each age on the assumption that the experience observed so far within the 15-19 year age group would continue.

The observed age distribution at leaving school in comparison with the ultimate age distribution at leaving school based on these calculations is shown in Figure 3.1. The inside curve in each pair of

Figure 3.1: Proportional distribution of age at leaving school of males and females aged 15–19 years at 30 June 1976 according to (i) the situation at 30 June 1976, and (ii) the estimated ultimate experience of this cohort of persons (birthplaces Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey)

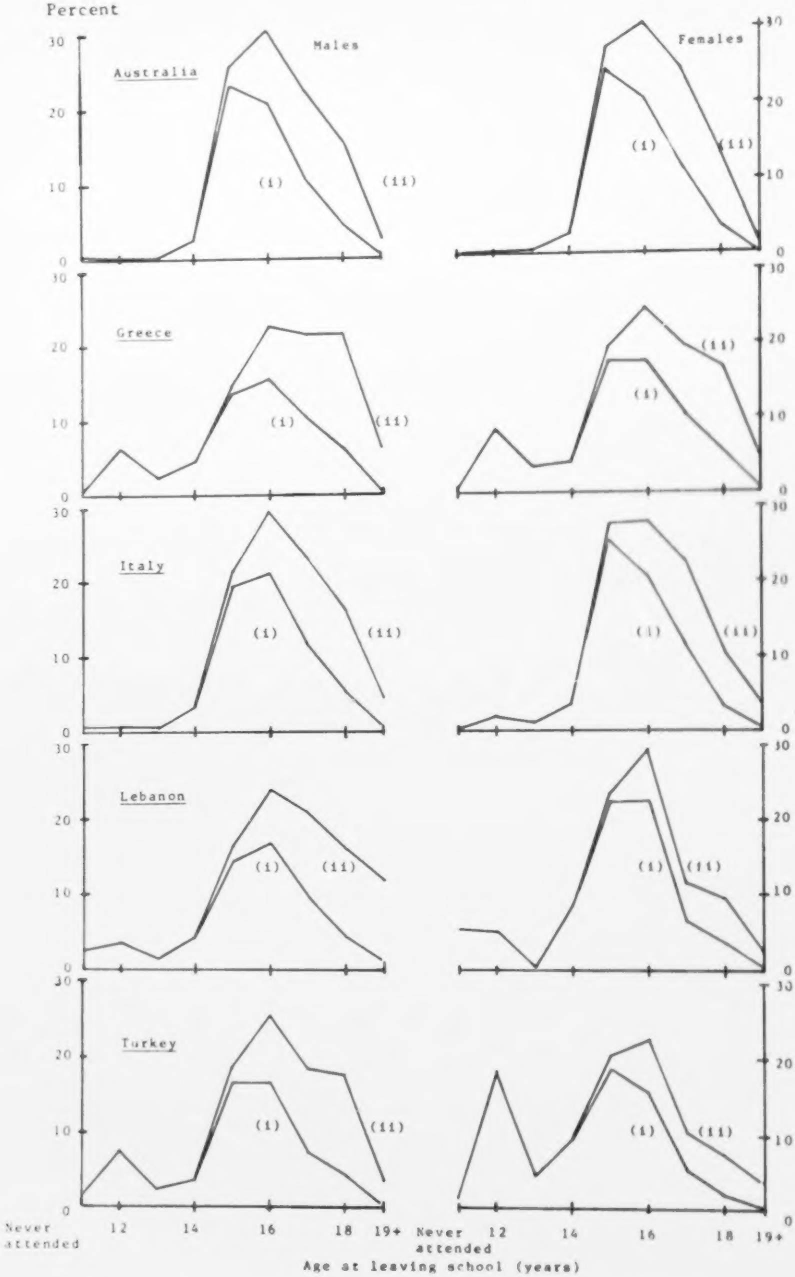

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Figure 3.2: Trends in the distribution of age at leaving school of males and females aged 20-24 and 25-29 years at the 1976 Census and the expected distribution of those aged 15-19 years (birthplaces Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey)

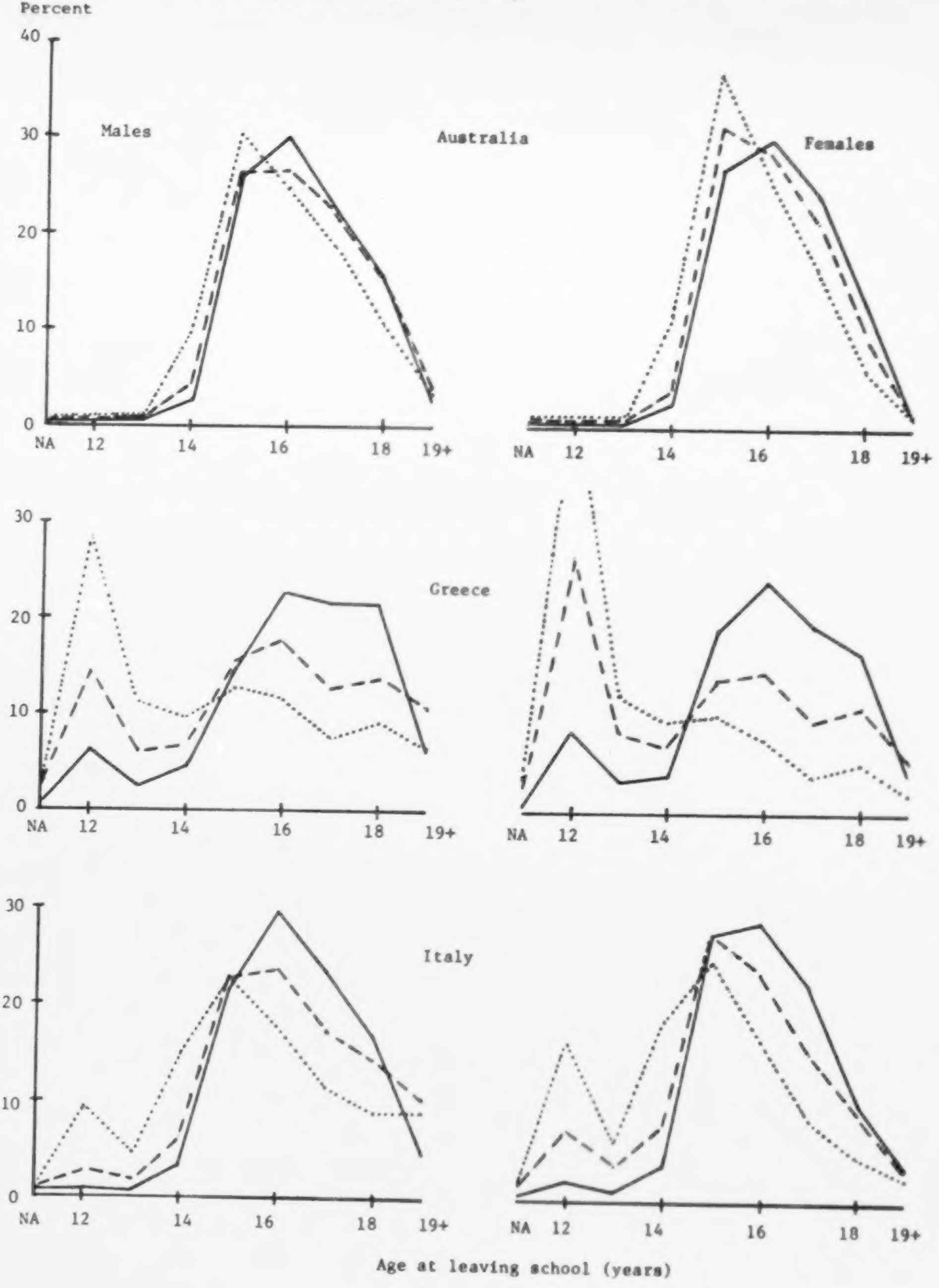

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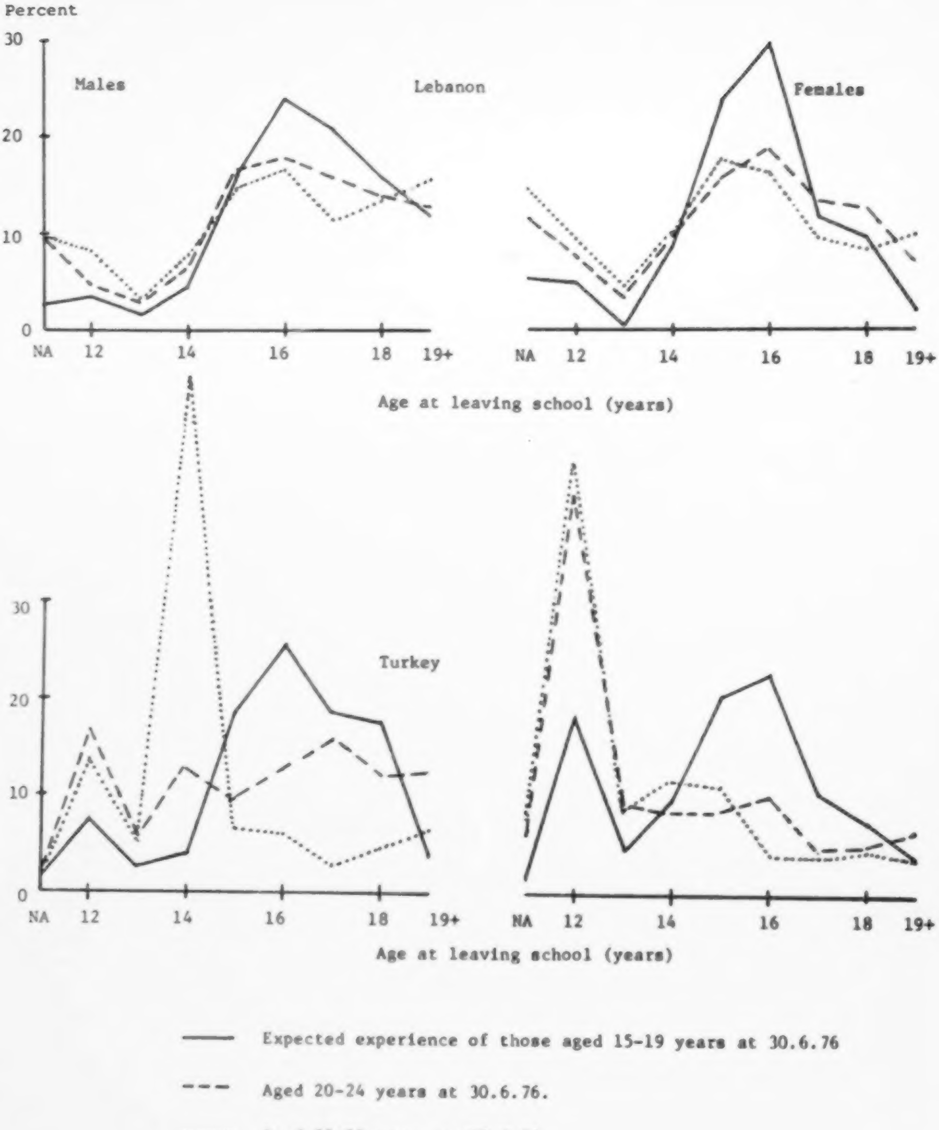
Figure 3.2 *continued*



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curves represents the observed experience, while the outside curve represents the ultimate age pattern of leaving school of these 15–19-year-olds if the past trends were to continue. A further advantage of this approach is that it also corrects for distortions caused by differences in the single age distribution between different birthplace groups, since it involves the calculation of probabilities of leaving school at each age. A wide gap between the curves is an indication that a high proportion stay at school to the older ages.

It is again evident that each birthplace group has different experience. Greek-born males are unique in having the largest gap between the two curves, indicating a higher school retention rate. The pattern of the Lebanese males, to some extent, approaches that of the Greek males, while the pattern of the Italian-born is closest to that of the Australian-born youth. Among females also, the Italian-born are closest in experience to the Australian-born, while the graphs for the Lebanese and Turkish girls illustrate their very young ages at leaving school. Differences between the sexes are greatest among the Lebanese and Turks, slightly less evident among the Greeks and scarcely discernible among the Australian-born and the Italians.

Trends in age at leaving school

It is also possible to make a further comparison, this time between the expected ultimate age pattern of leaving school of the 15–19-year-olds and the age incidence of leaving school among the 20–24 and 25–29-year-old age groups. These comparisons show that among Australian-born males and Australian-born females there is very little difference between the expected experience of the 15–19-year-olds and the actual experience of the two older cohorts, with the implication that there have been relatively small changes in school retention rates within this birthplace group. However, larger differences are evident when the expected experience of 15–19-year-olds is compared with actual experience of 20–24-year-olds and 25–29-years-olds within the other birthplace groups. Among oversea-born males, the proportions leaving school at a given age from the 15–19-year-old group are expected to be higher at ages 16 and 17 and also usually at age 18 and lower at ages 12–14, with very little change at age 19 and over, in comparison with the 20–24 years age group, that is, a shift from the lower to the upper-middle age of leaving school. Among overseas-born females, the main shift between the actual experience of 20–24-year-olds to the expected experience of the 15–19-year-olds is a decline in the proportions leaving school at ages 12 and 13 and an increase in the proportions leaving at ages 15–17 years, with relatively little change at ages 14, 18, or 19 and over. Here the overall change is from very low school leaving ages to medium-upper ages.

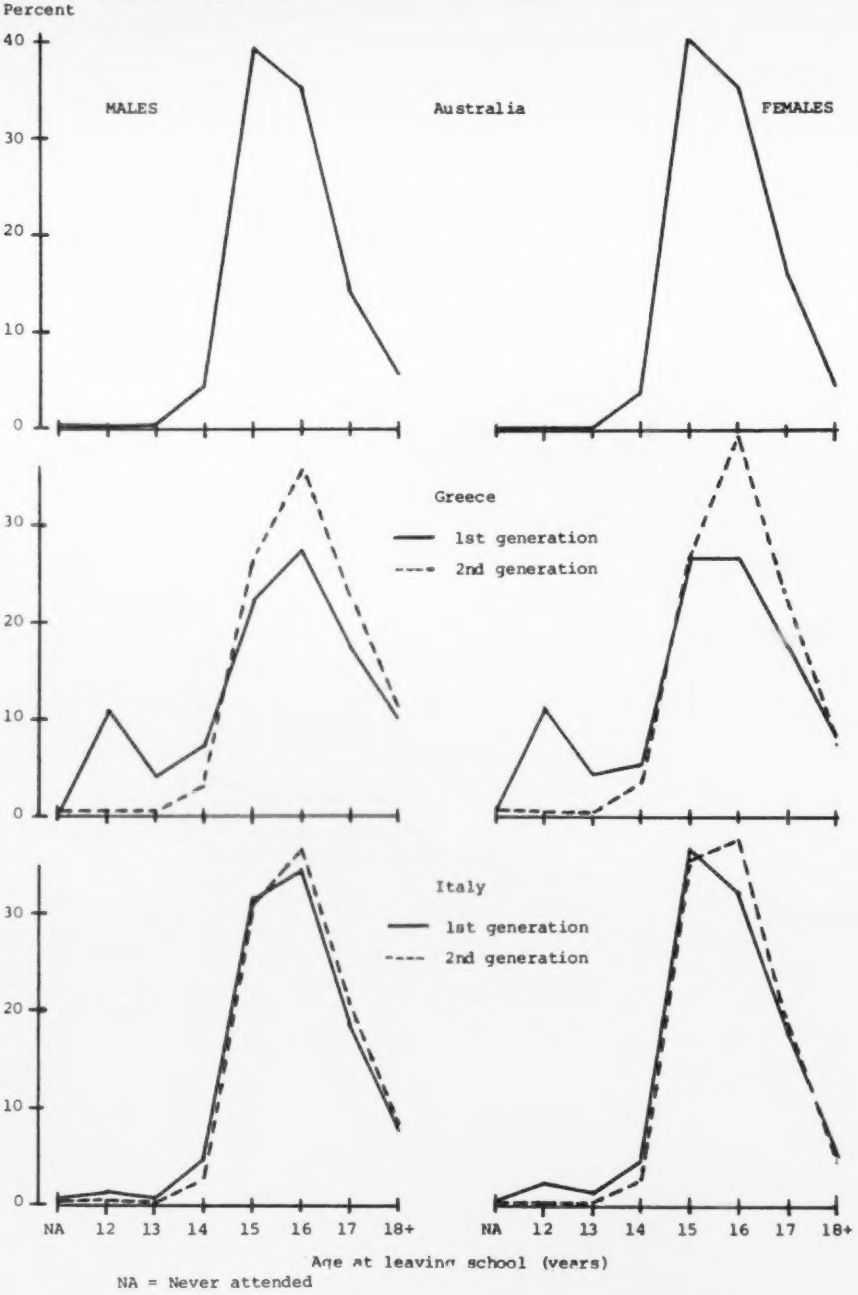
Overall consistently large changes in the age distribution of leaving school are observed for the Greek population and rather smaller but consistent increases are evident for the Italian group. There are also major changes in the age distribution of leaving school among the Turkish males, while among Turkish females and Lebanese of both sexes the changes are more recent and seem to have affected only the youngest pair of cohorts (see Figure 3.2).

Age at leaving school of the second generation

Although data are not available to make a full comparison of age patterns in leaving school between the first and second generations in the selected birthplace groups, a partial analysis is possible and this is represented in Figure 3.3. The figure shows the proportional distribution of the 15–19-year-old labour force according to age at leaving school (without corrections for the incomplete experience of the 15–19-year-old cohorts) for Australians and for first and second generation Greeks and Italians. It can be seen quite strikingly that there are greater differences between first and second generation Greeks than between first and second generation Italians. In all cases the trend is towards an older age pattern of leaving school in the second generation and for both ethnic groups the change is greater for females than for males. Most noticeable is that fewer of the second generation Greek girls leave at ages 12–14 years and more leave at ages 15–18 years.

In addition, while the experience of first generation Italians already closely approaches that of Anglo-Australians, the experience of the second generation shows the establishment of a peak age at

Figure 3.3: Proportional distribution according to age at leaving school of 15-19-year-old males and females in the workforce in Australia, for the birthplaces Australia, Greece and Italy, first and second generations (1976 Census)



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leaving school of 16 years among both males and females, in contrast to the peak of 15 years observed among the Anglo-Australians. The second generation Greeks have experience which now is a great deal closer to that of the Anglo-Australians than existed for the first generation and, similar to the Italians, both male and female second generation Greeks show a peak at age 16. In addition they have higher proportions leaving at ages 17–18 years than either the Anglo-Australians or Italians.

Labour force participation by age at leaving school

The distribution of the teenage workforce differs slightly from the distribution of all teenagers according to age at leaving school because of differences in labour force participation rates for each school-leaving age. For the Australian-born teenage population, the typical pattern of labour force participation is low rates among those with little or no schooling, a peak at ages 14–15 years for males and at ages 15–16 years for females and a decline in the rates at the older ages. The very young school leavers could possibly include a disproportionate number who are handicapped or otherwise prevented from joining the workforce, while the older school leavers possibly include larger numbers who have gone into further education (among males, but to a lesser extent among females). In the case of girls, the older school leavers may contain a higher proportion who are married. This inverted U-shape of labour force participation rates by age at leaving school has the effect of increasing the component of the workforce with a school leaving age of 14–16 years and reducing the component with a very young or an older age at leaving school.

However, the other birthplace groups show very much less variation in workforce participation rates by age at leaving school from one age to another. For both sexes, in comparison with the Australian-born teenagers, these other birthplace groups have higher labour force participation rates at the younger ages at leaving school and, among males, higher participation rates at the older ages at leaving school also. One further observation is that, among the females, the Lebanese are typified by generally having the lowest labour force participation rates (particularly at ages 14–16 years) and the Turks by generally having the highest rates (particularly at ages 12 and 13 years at leaving school).

Unemployment and age at leaving school

There has been some recent speculation that levels of unemployment are related to the age at leaving school, with the suggestion that unemployment would largely disappear if higher proportions stayed at school to the older ages. There is some truth in this with regard to the experience of the Australian-born (and to a lesser extent the British-born and New Zealand-born populations in Australia) because their unemployment rates show a consistent decline with each age at leaving school, except for the last age group (see Table 3.3). In fact, the rates for the Australian-born decline from 22.4 per cent at ages 12–14 years to 7.2 per cent at age 17 years.

However, there is less evidence of a decline in unemployment with age at leaving school among other birthplace groups and, in some cases, there is actually an increase. For example, unemployment rates of Greek youth increase from 9.1 per cent at ages 12–14 years to 14.0 per cent at age 17 years and those for Lebanese youth begin at 12.2 per cent at ages 12–14 years, show a slight decrease to 11.4 per cent at age 15 years and then also increase to 15.7 per cent at ages 17 years and over.

One explanation for these differences is that with an older age at leaving school a person moves into a different job market, aspiring more to white collar jobs—but where the competition for jobs is greater. In contrast at the lower end of the occupational scale there are some jobs available which can be done by those with no skills and with no English. An Australian-born youth may show a strong reluctance to take on such work, thus creating less competition and making it easier for a non-Australian youth with little schooling to do so.

However, this explanation is an over-simplification of the situation, because it must also be remembered that these older school leavers among the overseas-born have not necessarily reached a higher level at school than those who left school when one or two years younger. This is because a child from a non-English-speaking background who is experiencing difficulty in learning English

Table 3.3 **Unemployment rates of 15-19-year-old males and females in Australia according to age at leaving school and the countries of birth, Australia, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)**

Birthplace	*Age at leaving school (years)* *12-14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18+*	*All aged 15-19*
				Males (%)		
Australia	22.4	13.6	9.1	7.2	9.4	11.0
United Kingdon	18.4	14.4	10.6	9.2	10.4	12.6
New Zealand	21.4	15.4	15.0	12.0	16.4	14.7
Greece	9.6	9.6	11.8	14.0	14.8	12.5
Italy	12.0	8.3	6.6	10.3	10.4	8.8
Lebanon	12.2	11.4	14.4	15.7		14.7
Turkey	17.9	16.6	13.8	8.7		15.9
	Females (%)					
Australia	26.8	16.3	12.7	10.2	11.1	13.6
United Kingdom	26.1	19.5	14.5	10.7	13.3	16.3
New Zealand	29.5	19.2	20.8	18.4	13.0	19.4
Greece	5.8	7.9	9.9	14.9	16.5	10.6
Italy	10.8	12.1	11.0	12.6	14.3	12.1
Lebanon	22.0	17.3	22.6	13.2		21.7
Turkey	15.9	14.3	23.5	16.7		17.4

Source: Young et al (1980) p.134.

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and adjusting to an Australian school is likely to be kept in a class of younger children and therefore at a lower level than his or her peers.

Birthplace differences in the level of unemployment according to age at leaving school are reflected in the structure of the unemployed sector within the 15–19 years age group. The peak among the Australian-born occurs soon after the minimum legal school-leaving age, 15 years. However, among the other birthplace groups, the peak generally extends over ages 15–17 years and, in addition, because of the existence of relatively high proportions who leave school at the very young ages among the ethnic groups, there is also a greater contribution from those who left school at the very young ages. The component with little or no schooling is particularly evident among the Lebanese and Turkish teenagers and constitutes a large proportion of the unemployed among the Turkish and Lebanese girls.

The important implication of this is that the structure of the unemployed sector is very different for the Southern European and Middle Eastern groups in comparison with the Australian-born. Although the unemployed Australian-born show the expected pattern of a high peak near the minimum school-leaving age, with the implication that they are largely early school leavers, the other birthplace groups contain large components with little or no schooling or with longer schooling who cannot find jobs. This suggests the more complex nature of the unemployment problem among these non-Australian birthplace groups.

Unemployment and age at leaving school in the second generation

Further light is thrown on the relationship between age at leaving school, ethnic origin and the level of unemployment by the information in Table 3.4 and Figure 3.4. The experience of first and second generation teenagers with the United Kingdom as their ethnic origin provides a strong contrast to the experience of Greek and Italian first and second generations. Firstly, the patterns of unemployment by age at leaving school for both first and second generation United Kingdom school leavers closely resemble the pattern for the Australian group, in contrast to the very different age patterns of the Greek and Italian groups. In addition, with the exception of age 14 years, at each age at leaving school unemployment rates of teenagers born in the United Kingdom are very close to those of Australian-born persons whose fathers were born in the United Kingdom and the two sets of rates are closer to each other than they are to the corresponding rates for the total Australian-born population.

However, if one now turns to the experience of the two Italian and the two Greek groups, it can be seen that the experience of the first generation is quite different from that of the second generation, particularly among the Greeks. Overall, at the younger ages, the unemployment rates of the second generation exceed those of the first, while at the older ages the differences are generally smaller and more variable in their direction. In addition, while the experience of the second generation Italians is usually closer to that of the first generation Italians than to the total Australian-born, among Greeks the experience of the second generation appears to be closer to that of the total Australian-born group.

It is apparent then, that the transition from the first to the second generation among the Greeks and Italians involves a much larger change than the corresponding transition among those of United Kingdom origin and it would also appear to be greater among the Greeks than the Italians. Moreover, the change from the first to the second generation seems to generally produce higher rates of unemployment, particularly at the younger ages of leaving school, in fact making the age pattern of the second generation Greeks and Italians more closely resemble the age pattern characteristics of the Australian group.

3.4 Labour force participation

The outcome of these various patterns of:

1. age incidence of leaving school;
2. the labour force participation rates of school leavers; and
3. unemployment rates by age at leaving school;

result in the overall school–work–unemployment structure of the 15-year-old age group. This is summarised in Tables 3.5 and 3.6. One observation from the data for both males and females is that only one-third to one-half of the entire 15–19-year-old age group is in the labour force, thus emphasising the fact that the teenage labour force can be an atypical subgroup of the total age group.

Among males, there are high proportions of Greek and Lebanese boys who are still at school (54 per cent of each) compared with the other groups. The proportion is even higher among Greek youth who were born in Australia (65 per cent). A similar difference in school retention occurs within the Italian group: 46 per cent of Italian-born youths are still at school compared with 55 per cent of Australian-born Italians. One further difference among the males is that Australian-born school students include a higher proportion who are in the workforce (part-time jobs) compared with the other birthplace groups (9.2 per cent compared with 5–6 per cent).

Unemployment rates are high among the two groups with a large proportion who are still at school, that is, the Greeks and Lebanese. However, an exception to this pattern is the low proportion at school (46 per cent) and the high level of unemployment (16 per cent) among the Turkish youth.

Table 3.4: **Unemployment rates of 15-19-year-old males and females in Australia according to age at leaving school and whether first or second-generation (1976 Census)**

	Age at leaving school (years)				
Ethnic Origin	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18+*
			Males %		
Aust.-born with Aust.-born father	21.6	13.5	8.8	6.9	8.7
Aust.-born	22.1	13.6	9.1	7.2	9.4
Aust.-born with UK-born father	23.8	14.1	10.0	8.5	10.0
UK-born	18.7	14.4	10.6	9.2	10.4
Aust.-born with Italian-born father	13.8	10.0	7.7	6.5	10.8
Italian-born	11.2	8.3	6.6	10.3	10.4
Aust.-born with Greek-born father	20.7	16.5	9.2	10.8	24.7
Greek-born	15.5	9.6	11.8	14.0	14.8
			Females %		
Aust.-born with Aust.-born father	26.5	16.2	12.4	9.8	10.7
Aust.-born	26.4	16.3	12.7	10.2	11.1
Aust.-born with UK-born father	30.2	18.3	15.3	11.2	12.0
UK-born	26.0	19.5	14.5	10.7	13.3
Aust.-born with Italian-born father	14.6	11.5	10.7	11.9	11.3
Italian-born	7.8	12.1	11.0	12.6	14.3
Aust.-born with Greek-born father	11.9	17.2	12.6	14.1	16.6
Greek-born	2.9	7.9	9.9	14.9	16.5

Figure 3.4: Unemployment rates according to age at leaving school of 15-19-year-old males and females in Australia, for the birthplaces Australia, United Kingdom, Greece and Italy, first and second generations (1976 Census)

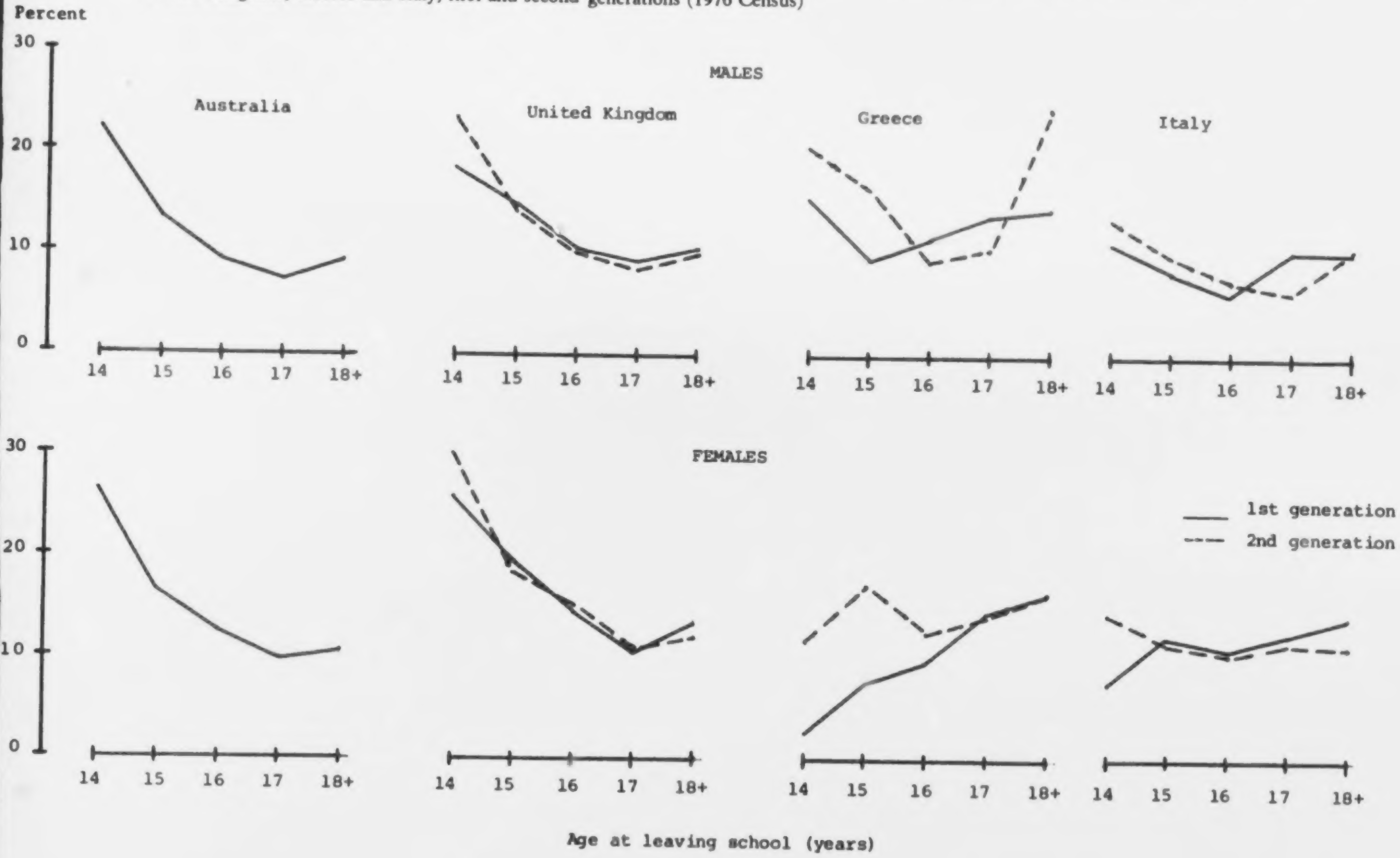

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Table 3.5: **Distribution of the 15-19-year-old population according to whether they are in the workforce or not, and whether they are at school or not (males and females born in Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey, in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

School and work status	*Birthplace*				
	Australia	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
			Per cent		
Males aged 15-19 years					
In the workforce & not at school	53.8	41.6	51.4	42.6	50.1
In the workforce & at school	2.9	4.3	2.8	3.7	4.4
At school & not in the workforce	36.9	49.9	41.8	48.1	40.9
Not at school & not in the workforce	6.4	4.2	4.0	5.6	4.6
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of school students who are in paid work	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.4	5.2
Proportion of school leavers who are not in the workforce	14.8	7.8	8.8	10.5	10.1
Unemployment rate	11.0	12.6	8.8	14.7	15.9
Labour force participation rate	56.5	45.5	53.6	46.7	55.7
Females aged 15-19 years					
In the workforce & not at school	47.9	38.8	50.2	35.0	51.6
In the workforce & at school	3.1	3.1	1.8	1.5	0.9
At school & not in the workforce	35.2	42.7	36.0	28.6	31.4
Not at school & not in the workforce	13.8	15.3	12.0	34.9	16.0
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of school students who are in paid work	6.7	4.7	3.4	1.3	0.9
Proportion of school leavers who are not in the workforce	28.2	26.4	25.0	55.0	33.8
Unemployment rate	13.6	10.6	12.1	21.7	17.4
Labour force participation rate	50.4	41.1	51.1	36.5	53.8

There is not a great deal of difference between the unemployment rates of Australian-born Greek youth in comparison with those born in Greece (12.6 per cent for each) and the same is true of second generation Italians in comparison with those of the first generation (9.2 compared with 8.8 per cent). However, at the same time one must remember that there are higher proportions of second generation Greeks and Italians who are still at school.

Among the 15-19-year-old females, the main observations are the low proportions of Greek-born and Lebanese-born girls who are in the workforce, 41 per cent and 36 per cent respectively, in comparison with 50-54 per cent among the other birthplace groups. While in the case of the Greek girls this is largely explained by the higher proportions who are still at school (46 per cent compared with 30 per cent of the Lebanese, 32 per cent of the Turkish and 38 per cent of the other girls), the low workforce participation of the Lebanese girls is as a result of the high proportion who are neither at school nor at work (35 per cent compared with 12-16 per cent of the other girls).

The Turkish girls are characterised by a high proportion in the workforce (52 per cent), a low proportion at school (32 per cent) and a low proportion who are engaged in only home duties (16 per cent). To some extent the two remaining groups, the Australian-born and the Italian-born, also follow this pattern, but with slightly larger proportions at school (38 per cent) and slightly lower proportions in home duties (12-14 per cent).

Table 3.6: **Distribution of the 15-19-year-old population according to whether they are in the workforce or not and whether they are at school or not (Australian-born males and females with fathers born in Australia, Greece and Italy 1976 Census)**

School and work status	*Birthplace of father*		
	Australia	*Greece*	*Italy*
Males aged 15–19 years		Per cent	
In the workforce & not at school	55.5	30.3	42.5
In the workforce & at school	2.8	4.6	2.8
At school & not in the workforce	35.3	61.2	50.6
Not at school & not in the workforce	6.5	4.0	4.1
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of school students who are in paid work	5.6	5.7	9.2
Proportion of school leavers who are not in the workforce	10.4	11.7	9.1
Unemployment rate	10.9	12.6	9.2
Labour force participation rate	57.8	34.6	44.4
Females aged 15–19 years			
In the workforce & not at school	48.6	32.3	44.5
In the workforce & at school	3.1	4.2	3.4
At school & not in the workforce	34.1	54.8	43.8
Not at school & not in the workforce	14.2	8.7	8.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of school students who are in paid work	6.9	5.1	5.4
Proportion of school leavers who are not in the workforce	22.6	17.4	15.7
Unemployment rate	13.6	14.1	11.6
Labour force participation rate	51.0	36.5	47.9

As for the boys, there is also a higher proportion of second generation Greek girls at school than first generation (59 compared with 46 per cent) and higher proportions of Australian-born Italian girls at school compared with girls born in Italy (47 compared with 38 per cent). These differences are balanced by lower proportions of second generation Greek and Italian girls in the workforce and in domestic duties in comparison with their overseas-born counterparts.

Proportions of female school leavers who are not in the workforce range from low values of 16–17 per cent among second generation Greek and Italian girls, to values in the twenties among Australian-born, Greek-born and Italian-born, to 34 per cent among Turkish girls and a high of 55 per cent among the Lebanese girls. One further variation is that very few Lebanese or Turkish school students were doing part-time work while still at school—only 1.3 and 0.9 per cent respectively, compared with values of 3–5 per cent for girls of Greek and Italian origin (both first and second generations) and 7 per cent for Australian-born girls.

Labour force summary by marital status

Marital status is an additional factor influencing the workforce status of the 15–19-year-old female population. The marital status distribution of females at the young adult ages in the selected birthplace groups is summarised in Table 3.7. At ages 15–19 years higher proportions of Lebanese girls are married (45 per cent) compared with the other groups—19 per cent of Turkish girls, 22 per cent of Greek-born and 14 per cent of Italian-born. However, these differences have virtually

Table 3.7: **Proportions never married among females in Australia aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-34 years, for Turks and Lebanese, and first and second generation Greeks and Italians (1976 Census)**

Ethnic origin	*Age group (years)* *15-19*	*20-24*	
		Per cent	
Aust.-born with Greek-born father	94.7	51.7	17.5
Greek-born	77.3	19.9	3.2
Aust.-born with Italian-born father	95.4	50.2	14.0
Italian-born	86.0	29.6	6.3
Lebanese	55.3	14.5	6.3
Turks	80.2	16.1	2.0

Table 3.8: **Labour force status according to marital status among 15-19 and 20-24-year-old males born in Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)**

Characteristic		*Australia*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
				Per cent		
Ages 15-19 years						
Unemployment rate	NM	11.2	12.4	8.4	14.8	13.3
	M	8.8	5.7	13.5	*	*
Labour force participation rate *(a)*						
	NM	89.3	90.5	92.6	88.4	91.3
	M	94.7	97.2	100.0	*	*
Proportion still at school						
	NM	40.2	55.5	45.1	52.0	46.4
	M	3.3	2.7	10.5	*	*
Proportion of school leavers who are married		1.6	4.8	1.7	1.2	3.8
Proportion of the 15-19-year-old workforce who are married *(b)*		1.7	5.1	1.8	1.0	4.1
Ages 20-24 years						
Unemployment rate						
	NM	7.8	8.1	5.6	14.8	10.0
	M	3.6	5.5	3.0	11.2	7.5
Labour force participation rate *(a)*						
	NM	89.4	92.1	93.0	91.5	93.7
	M	96.7	97.2	97.0	94.7	90.5

NM = Never married. M = Married

(a) Refers to the labour force participation rates of school leavers.

(b) Refers to the workforce consisting of those who have left school.

* Too few cases for the calculation of a rate.

Table 3.9: **Labour force status according to marital status among 15-19 and 20-24-year-old females born in Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)**

Characteristic		*Australia*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
Ages 15-19 years				*Per cent*		
Unemployment rate	NM	14.5	10.3	12.2	20.8	18.8
	M	9.8	10.2	10.2	19.9	11.9
Labour force participation rate *(a)*						
	NM	81.3	85.2	89.0	78.1	86.0
	M	48.2	53.9	52.3	33.6	51.5
Proportion still at school						
	NM	41.2	59.8	43.9	53.7	40.0
	M	0.3	0.3	0.3	0	1.5
Summary Marital and Labour force status						
Left school:						
NM & in labour force		44.5	26.2	42.9	20.2	41.4
NM & not in labour force		10.3	4.6	5.3	5.7	6.7
M & in labour force		3.3	12.6	7.4	14.8	10.1
M & not in labour force		3.6	10.7	6.7	29.2	9.4
Still at school		38.3	45.9	37.7	30.1	32.4
Sum		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00
Proportion of school leavers who are married		11.1	43.1	22.6	62.9	28.8
Proportion of the 15-19-year-old workforce who are married *(b)*		6.9	32.4	14.7	42.2	19.5
Ages 20-24 years						
Unemployment rate						
	NM	7.2	6.6	5.7	14.7	11.5
	M	4.3	5.9	4.3	13.8	10.2
Labour force participation rate *(a)*						
	NM	81.4	91.7	90.0	86.4	90.4
	M	54.7	54.6	50.7	34.6	63.1

NM = Never married. M = ever married.
(a) Refers to labour force participation rates of *school leavers* only.
(b) Refers only to the workforce consisting of those who have *left school*.

disappeared in the 20-24 year age group, except for a relatively low proportion of married Italian-born girls. One further difference is that much lower proportions of Australian-born Greek and Italian girls are married compared with Greek-born and Italian-born girls. For example, at ages 15-19 years the values are 5 per cent compared with 14 and 22 per cent respectively.

Of course, it should be remembered that while most of these differences are related to different patterns of marriage arising from different customs and traditions, some part is also due to the balance between married and single within the groups who migrate from these countries, that is, whether these women arrived as young wives or as unmarried dependants in families.

Very much smaller proportions of 15-19-year-old youths are married in comparison with the teenage girls and obviously marriage has relatively less influence on the economic activity of males compared with females. However, a few differences do exist and these are summarised in Table 3.8, while the data for females are given in Tables 3.9 and 3.10.

1. Unemployment rates

Among males from each birthplace unemployment rates at ages 15–19 and 20–24 years are generally higher among the never married than the married population. For example, at ages 15–19 years, unemployment rates among the Australian-born are 11.2 per cent for the never married and 8.8 per cent for the married and among those born in Greece the corresponding figures are 12.4 and 5.7 per cent. These differences may be a result of the greater pressure for a married man to be employed and different attitudes of employers to the perceived greater stability of a married youth.

The situation is rather different among females. Among the Australian-born the unemployment rates of the never married are higher than those of the married population both at ages 15–19 and

Table 3.10: **Labour force status according to marital status among 15-19- and 20-24-year-old females born in Australia whose fathers were born in Australia, Greece and Italy (1976 Census)**

Characteristic		*Father's birthplace*		
		Australia	*Greece*	*Italy*
		Per cent		
Ages 15–19 years				
Unemployment rate	NM	14.3	14.9	11.6
	M	9.8	10.0	8.0
Labour force participation rate *(a)*	NM	81.2	81.1	86.9
	M	47.4	64.1	57.3
Proportion still at school	NM	40.0	62.4	49.5
		0.3	1.7	0.7
Summary marital and labour force status:				
Left school *(b)*				
NM & in labour force		45.3	28.8	41.8
NM & not in labour force		10.5	6.7	6.3
M & in labour force		3.3	3.5	2.7
M & not in labour force		3.7	2.0	2.0
Still at school		37.2	59.0	47.2
Sum		100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of school leavers who are married		11.3	13.5	8.9
Proportion of work force who are married		6.9	11.0	6.1
Ages 20–24 years				
Unemployment rate	NM	7.1	5.3	5.0
	M	4.2	3.2	2.7
Labour force participation rate *(a)*	NM	81.4	88.9	89.4
	M	54.4	61.3	60.0

NM = Never married. M = Ever married.
(a) Refers to labour force participation rates of *school leavers* only.
(b) Refers only to the work force consisting of those who have *left school*.

20–24 years and the same relationship is also observed among second generation Greek and Italian girls. For example, at ages 15–19 years, unemployment rates of Australian-born Greek girls are 14.9 per cent if they are never married and 10.0 per cent if they are married. However, there is almost no variation in the rates between never married and married within the overseas birthplace groups. For example, among Greek-born girls the rates for never married are 10.3 per cent and among married are 10.2 per cent. The implication is that a difference between unemployment rates for never married and ever married is an 'Australian' pattern, which is copied by the Greek and Italian women from the second generation.

Because of the rather complex nature of the relationship between marriage and women's workforce participation, there would be some merit in regarding the unemployment rates of the never married female population as a better indicator of unemployment than the unemployment rates of the entire age group. This would mean that unemployment rates are actually higher than previously assumed.

2. Labour force participation rates of school leavers

Among males, as might be expected, labour force participation rates of school leavers are generally higher among married youth than among the never married and very small proportions of married youth are still at school in comparison with the never married group. In contrast, among females, again as one might expect, labour force participation rates of school leavers are considerably higher among the never married than the married and the variation in labour force participation rates between birthplace groups is much greater within the married category than within the never married group. For example, at ages 15–19 years, among the never married females workforce participation rates of school leavers range from 78 per cent for the Lebanese to 85–89 per cent for Greek, Turkish and Italian women, while within the married category of the same age group the rates range from 34 per cent for the Lebanese to 52–54 per cent for the Turkish-, Greek- and Italian-born and even higher values for the second generation Greek and Italian women (64 and 57 per cent respectively).

A similar pattern exists among females in the 20–24 year age group, namely, higher labour force participation rates among never married school leavers compared with those who are married and a greater variation in the labour force participation rates of the married population. Again, workforce participation of married females is lowest among the Lebanese (35 per cent) and highest among the Turkish women (63 per cent) and the rates are also quite high among Australian-born Greek and Italian women (61 and 60 per cent respectively). Overall, second generation Greek and Italian girls are characterised by low proportions who are married, but high proportions of the married group in the workforce.

The different school retention rates, proportions married and participation rates of married women in the workforce are reflected in the varying proportions of the workforce who are married. At ages 15–19 years these values range from a maximum of 42 per cent for the Lebanese girls and 32 per cent for Greek-born girls to medium values of 20 per cent for Turkish and 15 per cent for Italian-born girls and low values of 6 per cent for Australian-born Italians, 7 per cent for Australian-born and 11 per cent for Australian-born Greek girls.

The overall composition of the 15–19-year-old female age group is also summarised in the middle part of Tables 3.9 and 3.10. The proportions of the total who are unmarried and in the labour force range from a low of 20 per cent among the Lebanese-born, to 26–29 per cent among first and second generation Greeks and to 41–45 per cent among Turkish, first and second generation Italians and Australian-born girls. Except for the value of 10 per cent among the Australian-born, the proportions who are never married and not in the labour force are relatively similar for each of the selected birthplace groups—in the region of 5–7 per cent. Proportions who are married and in the labour force are highest, in descending order, for the Lebanese, Greek-born, Turkish and Italian-born (15, 13, 10 and 7 per cent respectively) and are very low for the Australian-born and for second generation Greeks and Italians (3–4 per cent).

Proportions of 15-19-year-old females who are married and not in the labour force are exceptionally high for the Lebanese girls (29 per cent); middle range values occur for the Greek-born, Turkish and Italian-born girls (11, 9 and 7 per cent respectively) and very low values for the three Australian-born groups (2-4 per cent). Finally, this set of figures points to the low proportion of Lebanese and Turkish girls who are still at school (30-32 per cent) and, in contrast, the very high proportions of Australian-born Greek girls who have stayed at school (59 per cent).

School-work status by single years of age and duration of residence

Another approach in the analysis of the experience of the 15-19 years age group is to consider the school and workforce participation by single years of age. Unfortunately information is not available from the 1976 Census which could provide such detail. However, there are special tabulations from the 1971 Census which give this information and thus provide some indication of differences in school-work status by single years of age between birthplace groups. This information has been represented graphically in Figures 3.5 to 3.8. A further value of these data is that they include information about the influence of duration of residence in Australia, which cannot be analysed from the 1976 Census because of a high incidence of 'not stated'.

Figure 3.5, describing the experience of males, is fairly straightforward. The differences in the proportions of youths who are working at each age are relatively small between the Australian-born, Greek and Italian youths, with slightly higher proportions of Italian-born working at the younger ages (15-18 years) and slightly lower proportions of the Australian-born working at the older ages (19-24 years). However, these differences are almost negligible in comparison with the differences within a given birthplace when duration of residence is taken into account. Proportions at work are considerably greater among newly arrived Greek and Italian youth (0-2 years' duration) than among the longer established groups (3-9 years' duration). When subdivided according to duration of residence, higher proportions of Italian-born youth are at work (instead of staying at school) in comparison with the Greek-born youth.

The situation is more complicated when the experience of the girls is considered. Unlike the boys, where the majority are either at school or at work, there is the extra dimension of 'home duties' among the girls. Overall, there are three distinct patterns by age in the proportions of girls who are at school (or further education), at work, or engaged solely in domestic duties; the first follows a steeply decreasing curve, the second a steep increase followed by a gradual decrease and the third shows a gradual increase with age.

The proportions of girls who are working are slightly lower for the Australian-born than for the other two groups at the younger ages, while there is some fluctuation in the relative positions of the three birthplace groups at the older ages. However, the patterns are far more diverse when the birthplace groups are subdivided by duration of resdidence, particularly at the younger ages. Considerably lower proportions of Greek and Italian girls with a duration of residence of 3-9 years are in the workforce compared with those with 0-2 years' duration. In addition, when separated according to duration of residence, at ages 15-18 years higher proportions of Italian-born girls are in the workforce compared with Greek-born girls, particularly among those with the longer duration of residence. However, beyond about ages 19-20 years differences between the two birthplace groups are reduced and, in fact, slightly higher proportions of Greek girls are in the workforce compared with Italian-born girls.

The remaining females who are not at work are shared between school (or further education) and domestic duties. The Australian-born females are characterised by a relatively high proportion at school (or full-time education) and a low proportion in domestic duties, while the Italian-born females show a slightly lower proportion at school and a slightly higher proportion at home. However, as before, the major differences are between those with different durations of residence. Low and similar proportions of Greek and Italian girls with 0-2 years' duration of residence are at school. The proportions are considerably greater for those with 3-9 years' duration and particularly high for the Greek-born females with this duration.

Figure 3.5: Proportion of males who are working, at each single age from 15 to 24 years, according to birthplace and period of residence (Australian, Greek and Italian males in Victoria at the 1971 Census)

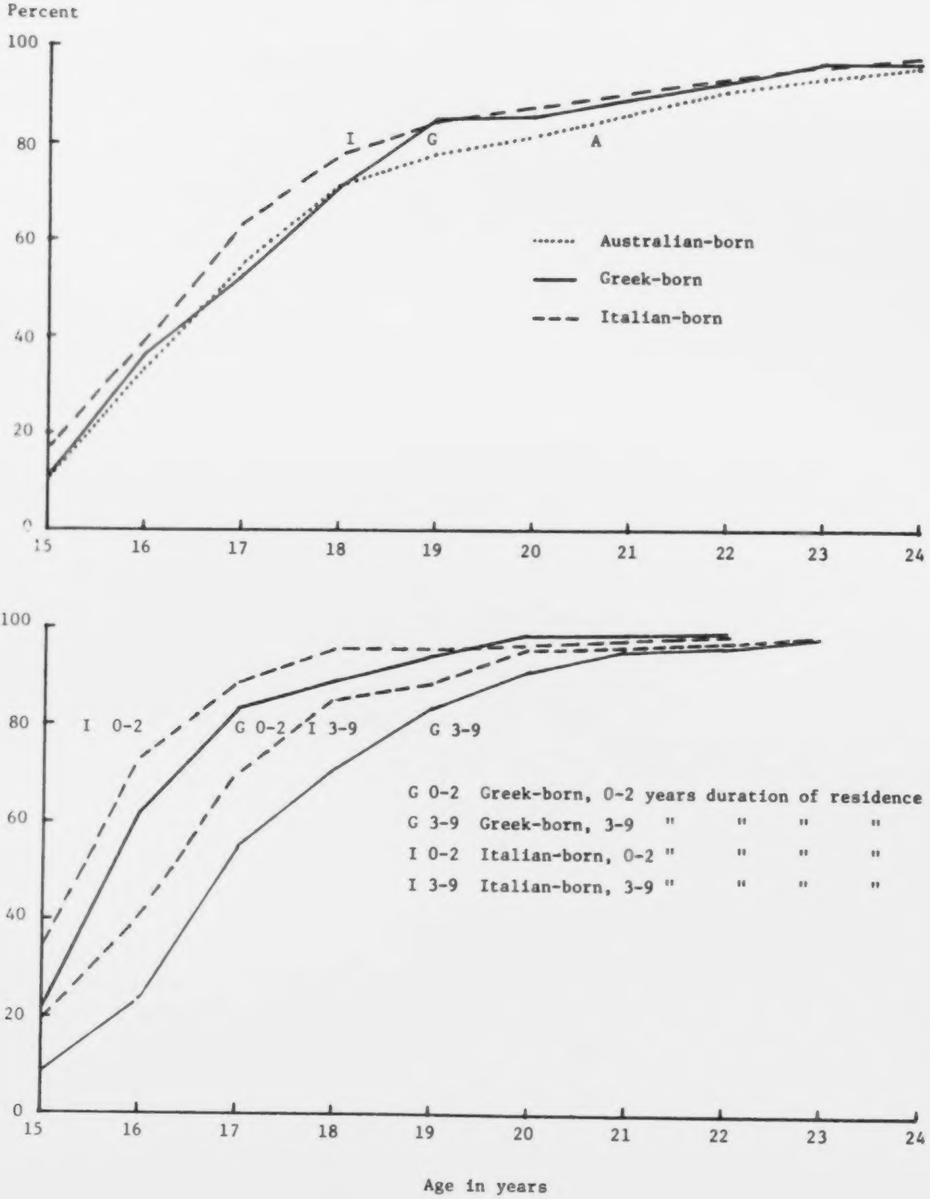


Figure 3.6: Proportion of females who are woking, at each single age from 15 to 24 years, according to birthplace and period of residence (Australian, Greek and Italian females in Victoria at the 1971 Census)

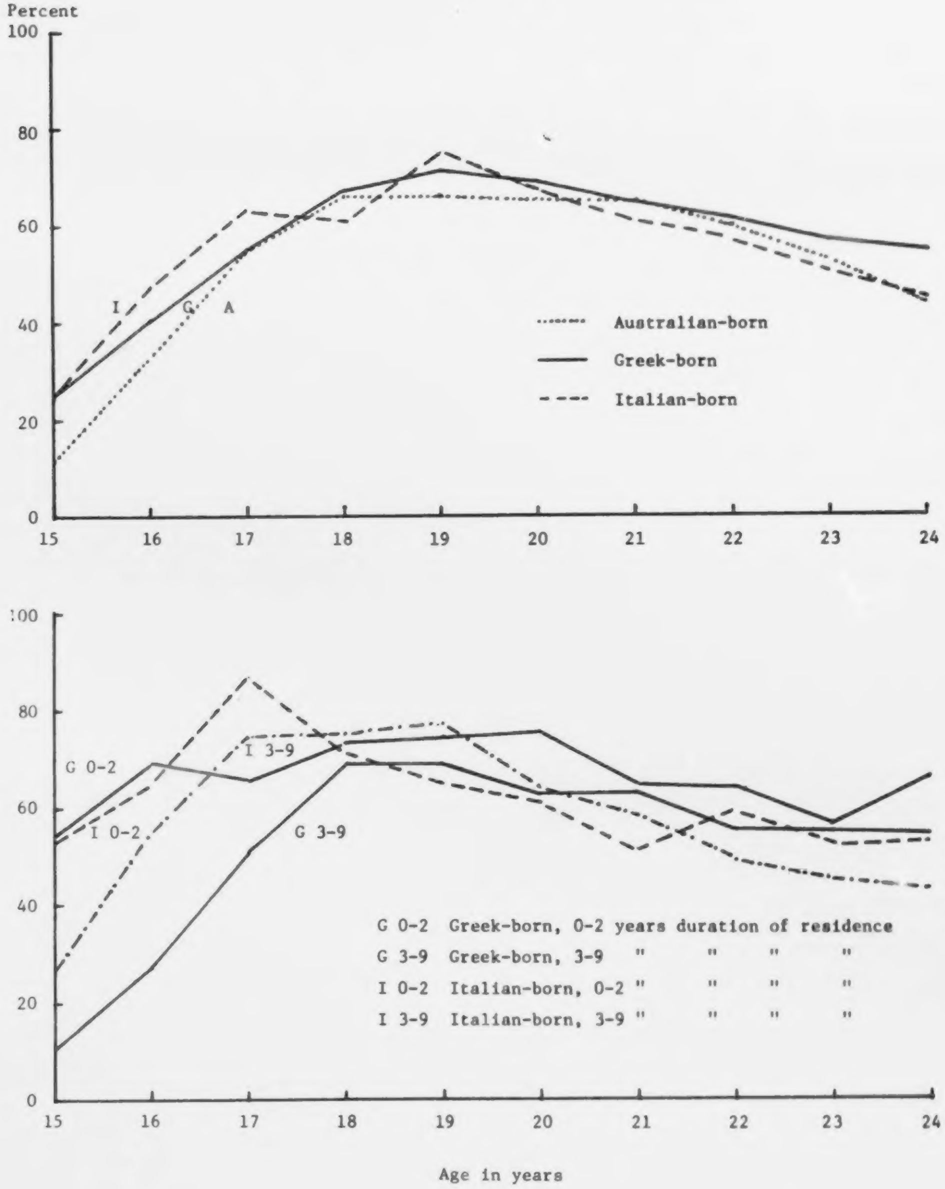


Figure 3.7: Proportion of females at school or in full-time education, at each single age from 15 to 24 years, according to birthplace and period of residence (Australian, Greek and Italian females in Victoria in the 1971 Census)

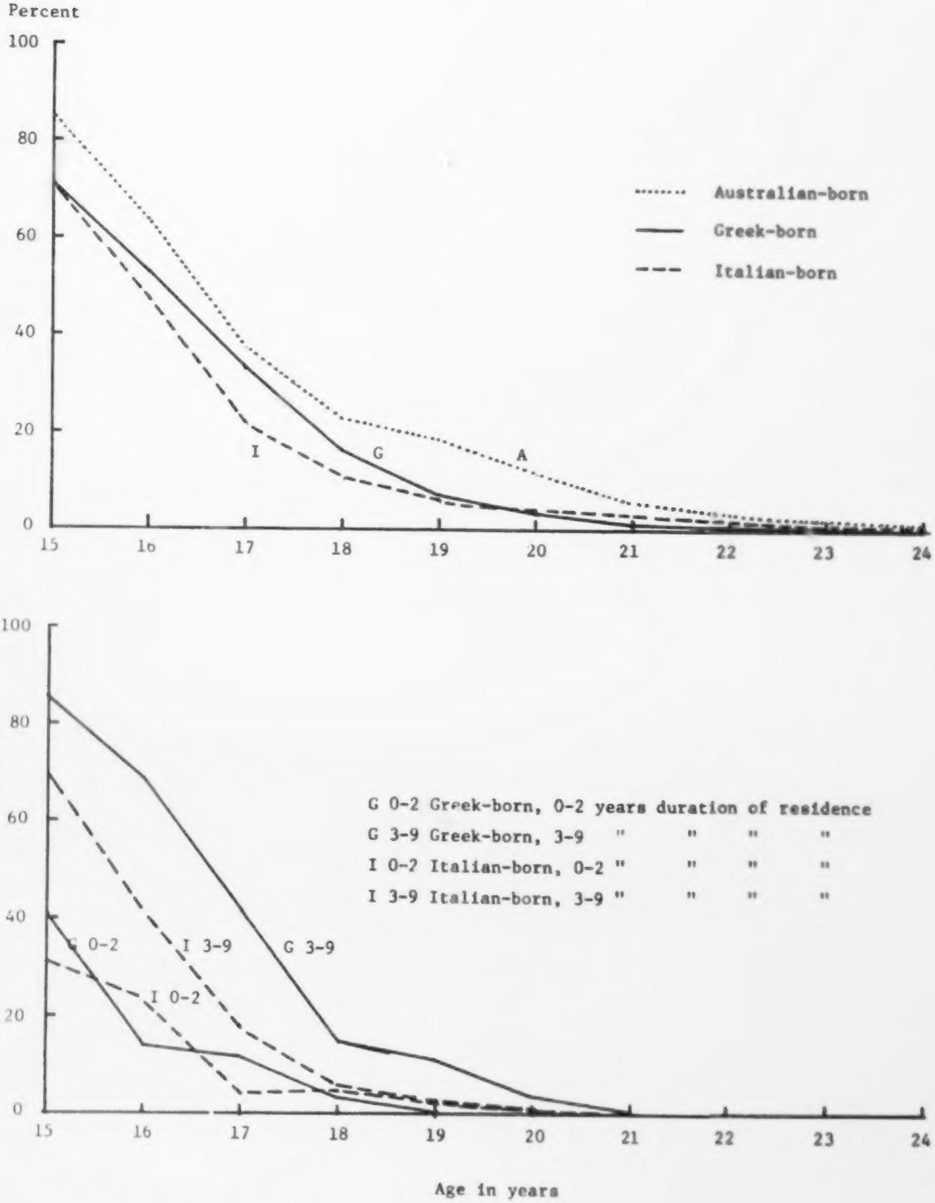
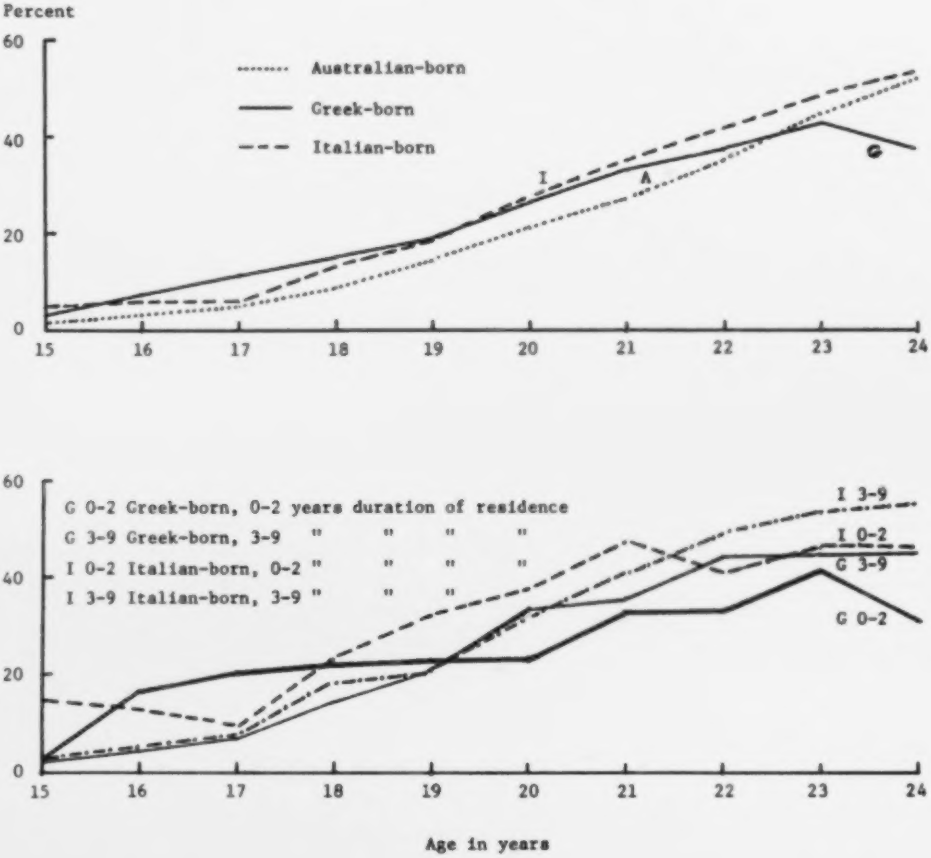


Figure 3.8: Proportion of females whose activity is home duties, at each single age from 15 to 24 years, according to birthplace and period of residence (Australian, Greek and Italian females in Victoria at the 1971 Census)



While at the very young ages proportions in domestic duties are lower among Greek and Italian females of longer duration of residence, among women in their early twenties the situation is reversed and proportions in home duties are higher for those with a longer duration of residence. Overall, differences in proportions in home duties show less variation according to birthplace and period of residence than do the proportions at work or in full-time education.

3.5 Employment status and qualifications

Proportions employer and self-employed

The overall labour force status of youth with the selected birthplaces within the young adult ages is given in Tables 3.11 and 3.12. Among males the main trends include an increase in the proportion who are employers or self-employed over successive age groups. Proportions of employers and self-employed reach their highest value among the Italian-born (25 per cent at ages 30–34 years) and

Table 3.11: **Labour force status of Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Turkish males in Australia at ages 15-19, 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 years (1976 Census)**

Labour force status	*Age group (years)*			
	15-19	*20-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*
	Per cent			
Greek-born				
Employer, self-employed	1.6	9.0	16.6	18.8
Wage, salary earner	37.4	72.7	72.5	72.3
Unpaid helper	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.2
Looking for work	5.7	6.4	5.0	3.9
Not in labour force	54.5	11.3	5.5	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Italian-born				
Employer, self-employed	1.2	8.8	19.7	25.3
Wage, salary earner	46.9	77.0	73.3	66.7
Unpaid helper	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.2
Looking for work	4.7	4.3	2.9	3.3
Not in labour force	46.4	9.5	3.8	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lebanese-born				
Employer, self-employed	0.6	5.5	11.5	15.5
Wage, salary earner	38.6	73.0	71.2	66.7
Unpaid helper	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2
Looking for work	7.0	11.8	9.8	9.7
Not in labour force	53.3	9.4	7.2	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Turkish-born				
Employer, self-employed	0.8	1.9	3.8	3.3
Wage, salary earner	45.7	79.4	84.3	83.5
Unpaid helper	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.6
Looking for work	8.8	8.0	5.7	6.8
Not in labour force	44.4	10.3	5.9	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

among the Australian-born Italians (30 per cent at ages 25-34 years). The proportions attained are slightly lower among the Greeks (19 per cent for the first generation and 20 per cent for the second); the Lebanese (16 per cent) attain levels comparable to the Australian-born (14 per cent) at around age 30 years, while the proportions of employers and self-employed is only 3-4 per cent among the Turks at these ages.

Similar patterns occur among the females. Proportions who are employers or self-employed increase with age, but to below the levels achieved by the males. The highest values are attained by the Greek and Italian women and, as for the males, larger proportions of second generation Greek and Italian women are employers or self-employed compared with those of the first generation. At ages 25-34 years the proportions for first and second generation Greek women are 9-11 and 15 per cent respectively and those for first and second generation Italian women are 8-10 and 13 per cent respectively. These values compare with 7 per cent for the Australian-born, 6 per cent for the Lebanese and only 1-3 per cent among the Turkish women. (See Tables 3.13 and 3.14.)

Table 3.12: **Labour force status of Australian-born males with fathers born in Australia, Greece and Italy, at ages 15–19, 20–24 and 25–34 years (1976 Census)**

Labour force status	*Age group (years)* *15–19*	 *20–24*	 *25–34*
		Per cent	
Australian-born father			
Employer, self-employed	1.1	5.6	14.1
Wage, salary earner	49.5	78.8	79.4
Unpaid helper	1.0	0.5	0.2
Looking for work	6.3	5.6	2.8
Not in labour force	42.2	9.5	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Greek-born father			
Employer, self-employed	1.7	5.9	20.0
Wage, salary earner	27.4	67.9	72.0
Unpaid helper	1.2	0.4	0.3
Looking for work	4.4	5.9	1.9
Not in labour force	65.4	19.9	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Italian-born father			
Employer, self-employed	1.6	9.8	29.9
Wage, salary earner	37.4	72.8	63.9
Unpaid helper	1.3	0.8	0.4
Looking for work	4.1	4.4	1.7
Not in labour force	55.6	12.3	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Beyond the youngest ages for both sexes with a given ethnic origin there is a general pattern that the proportions who are employers or self-employed are higher among those in the second generation.

Distribution according to qualifications

Because of the relatively low incidence of qualifications among the young adult females, the following paragraphs relate to the experience of males.

Even within the male component of the population very few of the 15–19 years age group have any qualifications and consequently any discussion of the influence of qualifications on employment status within this group is also limited. At ages 15–19 years the proportion with qualifications is about 6 per cent for the Australian-born, first and second generation Greeks and second generation Italians. The value is slightly higher for first generation Italians (9 per cent) and slightly lower for the Lebanese (4 per cent) and the Turkish youth (2 per cent). Perhaps the most important observation in relation to qualifications is that unemployment rates are considerably lower for those with a trade qualification than for those with no qualification at all. For example, among the Greek-born the rates are 4 per cent and 14 per cent respectively and the corresponding figures for the Italian-born are 6 and 10 per cent (see Table 3.15).

A similar situation with regard to qualifications and unemployment exists for the 20–24 years age group. Unemployment rates tend to be lower for those with trade qualifications than those with no qualifications at all. Although within the Australian-born group it is found that unemployment rates are even lower among those with a degree, diploma or technical qualification, this relationship is not apparent for the other birthplace groups, possibly due to the smaller numbers and the correspondingly greater variance of these (see Table 3.16).

Table 3.13: **Labour force status of Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Turkish females in Australia at ages 15-19, 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 years (1976 Census)**

Labour force status	*Age group (years)* *15-19*	*20-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*
	Per cent			
Greek-born				
Employer, self-employed	1.1	6.9	9.0	10.9
Wage, salary earner	34.1	48.2	41.2	46.2
Unpaid helper	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0
Looking for work	4.4	3.7	2.9	3.1
Not in labour force	59.4	40.1	45.8	38.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Italian-born				
Employer, self-employed	0.7	4.0	8.2	10.4
Wage, salary earner	43.4	53.9	35.5	36.3
Unpaid helper	0.8	0.7	1.3	1.5
Looking for work	6.1	3.1	2.3	1.6
Not in labour force	49.0	38.4	52.6	50.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lebanese-born				
Employer, self-employed	1.5	2.3	5.8	6.0
Wage, salary earner	26.1	33.1	27.8	28.1
Unpaid helper	0.8	0.4	1.3	1.1
Looking for work	8.0	6.0	4.2	3.6
Not in labour force	63.6	58.1	60.9	61.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Turkish-born				
Employer, self-employed	0.3	0.4	1.4	2.7
Wage, salary earner	44.0	59.9	66.8	67.9
Unpaid helper	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.7
Looking for work	9.3	6.9	4.4	4.5
Not in labour force	46.2	32.3	26.5	24.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.14: **Labour force status of Australian-born females with father born in Australia, Greece and Italy, at ages 15-19, 20-24 and 25-34 years (1976 Census)**

	Age group (years)		
Labour force status	*15-19*	*20-24*	*25-34*
		Per cent	
Australian-born father			
Employer, self employed	0.2	1.9	6.6
Wage, salary earner	43.2	58.0	37.3
Unpaid helper	0.7	1.0	1.8
Looking for work	6.9	3.6	1.5
Not in labour force	49.0	35.5	52.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Greek-born father			
Employer, self-employed	0.5	4.2	1.2
Wage, salary earner	28.6	64.2	42.2
Unpaid helper	1.0	0.9	2.1
Looking for work	4.9	3.2	1.6
Not in labour force	65.0	27.6	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Italian-born father			
Employer, self-employed	0.6	4.3	12.6
Wage, salary earner	38.9	63.0	35.6
Unpaid helper	1.1	1.6	2.7
Looking for work	5.4	3.2	1.7
Not in labour force	54.0	27.9	47.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.15: **Proportion of the 15–19-year-old workforce with qualifications, and unemployment rates according to qualifications. Australian-born males with fathers born in Australia, Greece and Italy, and overseas-born males with birthplaces Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)**

	Australian-born Father's birthplace			*Overseas-born*			
Qualifications	*Australia*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
				Per cent			
Proportion with qualifications							
Degree, diploma	0.1	0.2	–	0.1	–	–	–
Technical	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	–
Trade	5.6	5.7	6.4	6.1	8.9	3.8	2.4
None	85.4	86.8	85.2	85.5	81.5	84.8	87.4
Not stated, not applicable	8.5	6.3	8.1	8.1	9.4	11.1	10.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rates							
Trade	3.1	2.9	2.2	4.0	6.5	*(a)*	*(a)*
None	11.9	14.0	10.3	13.9	9.7	16.7	16.9
All (incl. not stated etc.)	10.9	12.6	9.2	12.5	8.8	14.8	16.2

(a) Too few cases for the calculation of a rate.

Within the 20–24 years age group the proportion with qualifications varies considerably from one birthplace to another. Relatively high proportions of the Australian-born and the second generation Greek and Italian youth have a degree or diploma (6–8 per cent), rather smaller proportions of first generations Greeks and Italians have these qualifications (3 per cent) and even smaller proportions of the Lebanese and Turks do. There is less divergence with regard to proportions with technical qualifications. When trade qualifications are considered first and second generation Italians have the largest proportions (26 and 23 per cent respectively), closely followed by the Australian-born (21 per cent); the Greeks have medium range values (14 per cent for the first generation and 17 per cent for the second), while the Lebanese group includes 12 per cent and the Turkish 9 per cent with trade qualifications. Note the opposite patterns in the proportions of first and second generation youths with qualifications among the Greeks and Italians.

Relationship between qualifications and employment status

Table 3.17 was prepared in an attempt to detect any link between qualifications and the proportion in the employer and self-employed category within the selected birthplace groups. Across rows, within a given birthplace group and at a given age, the general pattern is that the highest proportion who are employers or self-employed occurs in the trade qualifications category. The main exception to this is that among second generation Italians the largest proportions consistently occur among those with no qualifications.

Within a given birthplace group the general pattern is that the proportions who are employers or self-employed are higher among the second generation than the first. However, while there is relatively little difference in these proportions between the first and second generations with trade qualifications (and, in fact, in some cases the proportions are higher in the first generation), the proportions are generally considerably higher in the second generation among those with no qualifications. Consequently, within a given age group and a given ethnic background, the variation in the proportions who are employers or self-employed for each of the two main categories, trade and no qualification, is generally slightly greater in the first than in the second generation. For example,

Table 3.16: **Proportion of the 20-24-year-old workforce with qualifications and unemployment rates according to qualifications (Australian-born males with fathers born in Australia, Greece and Italy, and overseas-born males with birthplaces Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey 1976 Census)**

	Australian-born Father's birthplace			*Overseas-born*			
Qualifications	*Australia*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
				Per cent			
Proportion with qualifications							
Degree, diploma	6.2	8.0	5.9	2.5	2.9	0.8	-
Technical	3.7	3.6	3.0	2.4	3.4	0.8	2.1
Trade	21.2	16.6	23.0	14.2	25.7	11.9	8.7
None	58.3	65.7	61.3	73.7	60.3	75.7	80.5
Not stated, not applicable	6.7	6.1	6.8	7.2	7.7	10.8	8.7
Sum (incl. not stated etc.)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rates							
Degree, diploma	2.9	6.8	3.3	2.8	6.0	*(a)*	-
Technical	2.2	-	3.5	3.8	2.2	*(a)*	*(a)*
Trade	4.1	3.0	4.5	4.1	3.7	10.8	*(a)*
None	7.6	8.5	5.7	8.1	5.1	12.7	8.9
All (incl. not stated etc.)	5.9	7.4	5.0	7.2	4.7	13.0	9.0

(a) Too few cases for the calculation of a rate.

at ages 25-34 years the proportions are 26 per cent for the Greek-born with trade qualifications compared with 19 per cent for those with none and the corresponding figures for the Italian-born are 31 and 21 per cent. In contrast, in the same age group, among the Australian-born Greeks the proportions are 26 and 21 per cent and among the Australian-born Italians they are 31 and 34 per cent respectively. Thus in the first generation having a trade qualification considerably increases the probability of being self-employed or an employer.

One further trend that should be noted is that for a given level of qualifications and for a given birthplace group, the proportion who are employers or self-employed increases with age. In almost all cases, the largest increases in these proportions and the highest proportions attained occur among the second generation Greeks and Italians. Among all males the increase with age among the second generation Greeks is 7 to 36 per cent and among the second generation Italians is 11 to 39 per cent. This compares with increases from only 6 to 21 per cent among the Australian-born, 10 to 23-26 among the first generation Greeks and Italians, 6 to 20 per cent among the Lebanese and from 2 to 6 per cent among the Turks.

3.6 Occupation distribution

Occupations of the 15-19 years age group

Apart from information about the proportions who are still at school, in the workforce, employed or unemployed and who are employers or employees, one further important indicator of the relative status of young people is the sort of work that those in the labour force are doing. The distribution of 15-19-year-old males and females from the various birthplace groups according to broad occupational categories is shown in Table 3.18. Among males, there are relatively high proportions of the Australian-born in professional (2 per cent), clerical (10 per cent) and farming (9 per cent) occupations and the armed services (3 per cent) while relatively few are in the category tradesman,

Table 3.17: **Proportion of the male labour force who are employers or self-employed, according to age and qualifications (Australian-born males with fathers born in Australia, Greece and Italy, and overseas-born males from Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey 1976 Census)**

	Qualifications				
Birthplace	*Degree, diploma*	*Technical*	*Trade*	*None*	*Total*
	Per cent				
AGES 20–24 YEARS					
Australian-born with					
Australian-born father	2.3	6.0	7.5	6.2	5.9
Greek-born father	3.4	2.5	8.2	8.0	7.3
Italian-born father	3.3	3.5	10.8	12.3	11.2
Overseas-born					
Greece	3.7	12.5	11.4	9.9	10.2
Italy	2.6	5.0	14.3	8.8	9.7
Lebanon	*(a)*	*(a)*	11.3	5.2	6.1
Turkey	*(a)*	*(a)*	5.9	1.3	2.1
AGES 25–34 YEARS					
Australian-born with					
Australian-born father	10.1	10.4	17.8	14.8	14.6
Greek-born father	21.3	12.4	25.8	21.4	21.3
Italian-born father	22.0	15.2	31.2	34.1	31.2
Overseas-born					
Greece	10.7	18.2	26.3	18.2	18.9
Italy	11.2	14.6	30.9	21.0	23.3
Lebanon	16.1	21.3	21.5	13.4	14.3
Turkey	0	*(a)*	7.0	3.6	3.7
AGES 35–44 YEARS					
Australian-born with					
Australian-born father	18.6	14.6	22.2	21.5	20.8
Greek-born father	49.3	28.2	38.7	32.0	35.8
Italian-born father	41.6	18.7	33.3	43.1	39.2
Overseas-born					
Greece	28.4	33.5	31.1	22.2	23.2
Italy	27.7	20.1	33.2	29.3	26.0
Lebanon	9.5	*(a)*	22.5	19.7	19.6
Turkey	12.0	*(a)*	10.2	5.0	5.7

(a) Too few cases for the calculation of a rate.

Table 3.18: **Occupational distribution of 15-19-year-old males and females born in Australia, Greece, Italy, Lebanon and Turkey (1976 Census)**

Occupation	*Australia (a)*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Lebanon*	*Turkey*
			Males %		
Professional, technical	1.9	0.9	1.0	-	-
Administrative, executive	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.5	-
Clerical	10.0	5.2	7.7	4.4	3.0
Sales	7.7	13.0	9.0	6.6	1.0
Farmers, fishermen etc., miners, quarrymen	9.4	1.0	2.0	0.5	-
Transport and communication	3.1	1.9	1.5	3.4	3.0
Tradesmen, production-process, labourers	57.1	65.5	67.8	63.0	75.9
Service, sport and recreation	3.6	5.6	4.6	7.4	2.5
Armed services	2.7	-	0.5	-	-
Not stated	4.2	5.7	5.3	14.2	14.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			Females %		
Professional, technical	10.0	1.1	1.5	-	1.2
Administrative, executive	0.2	-	0.2	--	-
Clerical	42.4	32.8	40.8	19.9	3.5
Sales	21.1	17.1	20.0	12.9	-
Farmers, fishermen etc., miners, quarrymen	1.5	0.2	1.7	-	2.4
Transport and communication	1.3	-	1.1	-	-
Tradesmen, production-process, labourers	7.2	30.6	18.4	46.2	77.4
Service, sport and recreation	10.7	9.8	9.7	9.2	2.4
Armed services	0.4	-	-	-	-
Not stated	5.2	8.4	6.6	11.8	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Australian-born with Australian-born father.

production-process worker and labourers (57 per cent). Greek and Italian youth are well represented in sales (13 and 8 per cent respectively) and relatively well represented in clerical occupations (5 and 8 per cent) and in service, sport and recreation (6 and 5 per cent). Special characteristics of the Lebanese and Turks are that each contains only 3–4 per cent in clerical, there are over 3 per cent in transport and communication, the Lebanese are well-represented in sales (7 per cent compared with 1 per cent of Turks) and in service, sport and recreation (7 per cent compared with 2 per cent of Turks) and the Turkish youth contain the largest proportion of tradesmen, production-process workers and labourers (76 per cent).

The 15–19-year-old girls differ from the boys in that, because of the demand for secretarial and typing skills, there are relatively large proportions in the clerical occupations and correspondingly smaller proportions in the tradesmen, production-process worker and labourer category. High proportions of Australian-born girls are in the professional occupations (10 per cent) compared with the other groups (1–2 per cent). There are also relatively high proportions of Australian-born girls in clerical occupations (42 per cent); comparable levels are attained by the Italian (41 per cent) and the Greek girls (38 per cent), but rather smaller proportions of Lebanese (20 per cent) and Turkish girls (4 per cent) are in these occupations.

Most groups are similarly represented in the service, sport and recreation category (9–11 per cent) with the exception of the Turkish girls (2 per cent). The largest divergence between the different birthplace groups is experienced in the tradesman, production-process worker and labourer category, from only 7 per cent among the Australian-born, 18 per cent among the Italian-born and 31 per cent among the Greek-born, rising to 46 per cent among the Lebanese and 77 per cent among the Turkish 15–19-year-old females.

Occupational change from the first to the second generation

Census data on parents' birthplace are available for the Greek and Italian population in Australia and so it is possible to analyse the occupational change experienced between the first and second generations. For females, this analysis has been carried out with the additional refinement of considering the never married and ever married populations separately.

Among both 15–19- and 20–24-year-old males (see Tables 3.19 and 3.20) and among youth of both Greek and Italian origin, those from the second generation are less likely to be in the labour force and less likely to be in the category, tradesman, production-process worker and labourer, in comparison with the first generation. For example, among males of Greek origin, at ages 15–19 years there is a decrease from 26 to 16 per cent and at ages 20–24 years there is a fall from 47 to 29 per cent in the proportions of the total population in the tradesman, production-process worker and labourer category. However, there is surprisingly little variation in the level of unemployment between the first and second generations. If unemployment is measured as the proportion unemployment out of the total population the rate is marginally lower for the second generation, but if measured in terms of the proportion unemployed in the labour force it is marginally greater for the second generation.

Differences between proportions in individual occupational categories become more pronounced in the 20–24 years age group. Some of the main differences which emerge at ages 20–24 years are that the second generation contains higher proportions in the professional, technical category (9 compared with 4 per cent among males of Greek origin), clerical occupations (14 per cent compared with 7–10 per cent among males of Greek and Italian origin) and the farming, fisherman group (7 compared with 2 per cent among males of Italian origin). Similar proportions of first and second generation youth are found in the managerial occupations (2–3 per cent), sales, transport and communication (3–4 per cent) and in service, sport and recreation (4–5 per cent).

Among the females there is also a decrease in the proportions in the category, tradesman, production-process worker and labourer, from the first to the second generation. This occurs for both age groups, 15–19 and 20–24 years and for both the never married and the married populations. Within the 15–19-year-old never married population additional changes from the first to the second generation are slight increases in the proportion in clerical occupations (from 12 to 15 per cent among

Table 3.19: **Occupational distribution of males born in Greece and Italy and Australian-born males whose fathers were born in these countries (Males aged 15–19 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the youth or his father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
	Per cent			
1. Professional, Technical	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.7
2. Managers, Administrators	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4
3. Clerical workers	2.1	2.7	3.8	4.2
4. Sales workers	5.2	4.2	4.4	4.0
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0.4	1.1	0.9	2.9
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Transport, Communication	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.6
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	26.1	16.2	33.2	23.0
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	2.2	1.8	2.3	1.6
10. Armed Services	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	2.3	2.8	2.6	2.4
12. Unemployed	5.6	4.4	4.7	4.1
13. Not in labour force	54.6	65.4	46.4	55.6
14. Not applicable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	12.3	12.7	8.8	9.2

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

the Greek females and from 18 to 21 per cent among the Italian females) and lower proportions in the labour force. However, the 15–19-year-old married female population shows much greater increases in the proportion in clerical occupations from one generation to the next (from 10 to 31 per cent for Greek females and from 17 to 24 per cent among Italian females) and, at the same time, higher but decreasing proportions in the production-process worker category, in comparison with the 15–19-year-old never married female population. For example, among females of Greek origin proportions in this category show a decrease from the first to the second generation from 21 to 6 per cent among the married population, compared with a decrease from 8 to 1 per cent among the never married (see Tables 3.21 to 3.24).

By ages 20–24 years, for both never married and married females, increases in the proportion in the professional, technical category from one generation to the next emerge. Among never married females the increase is from 8 to 12–13 per cent for those of both Greek and Italian origin and among the married females the increase is from 1–2 to 7 per cent. These increases are associated with increases in the proportions in clerical occupations (among married females, an increase from 10 to 31 per cent for those of Greek origin and from 19 to 29 per cent for those of Italian origin), and slight increases of 1–2 per cent in the proportions in sales. There is also a small but consistent decline in the proportions who are unemployed from the first to the second generation in this age group.

Table 3.20: **Occupational distribution of males born in Greece and Italy, and Australian-born males whose fathers were born in these countries (Males aged 20-24 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the man or his father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
		Per cent		
1. Professional, Technical	3.7	8.7	5.1	6.6
2. Managers, Administrators	2.5	2.4	3.2	2.8
3. Clerical workers	7.1	14.3	9.5	14.2
4. Sales workers	8.4	8.3	5.6	5.4
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0.8	2.4	1.9	7.4
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3
7. Transport, Communication	4.5	3.0	3.8	3.6
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	47.1	28.6	50.1	36.4
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	5.0	3.5	3.8	3.5
10. Armed Services	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.7
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	2.9	2.3	2.7	2.4
12. Unemployed	6.4	5.9	4.3	4.4
13. Not in labour force	11.2	19.9	9.5	12.3
14. Not applicable				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	7.2	7.4	4.8	5.0

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

Table 3.21: **Occupational distribution of females born in Greece and Italy, and Australian-born females whose fathers were born in these countries (Never married females aged 15-19 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the woman or her father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
		Per cent		
1. Professional, Technical	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.3
2. Managers, Administrators	0	0	0.1	0
3. Clerical workers	12.4	14.7	18.5	20.7
4. Sales workers	5.6	6.1	9.2	8.3
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0	0.2	0.6	0.9
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0	0	0	0
7. Transport, Communication	0	0.3	0.5	0.4
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	8.2	1.0	7.5	2.1
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	3.2	2.7	4.6	3.7
10. Armed Services	0	0	0	0
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	2.7	2.4	4.4	2.7
12. Unemployed	4.1	4.8	8.7	5.4
13. Not in labour force	63.4	66.6	39.6	54.5
14. Not applicable		0		0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	11.2	14.4	14.4	11.9

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

Table 3.22: **Occupational distribution of females born in Greece and Italy, and Australian-born females whose fathers were born in these countries (Married females aged 15-19 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the woman or her father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
		Per cent		
1. Professional, Technical	0	0.0	0.9	1.0
2. Managers, Administrators	0	0.6	0	0.7
3. Clerical workers	10.0	31.1	17.2	24.3
4. Sales workers	7.6	10.2	8.1	8.3
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0.3	2.2	2.1	1.9
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0.0			0.0
7. Transport, Communication	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	21.2	6.1	13.1	3.7
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	4.6	3.7	2.6	6.5
10. Armed Services	0	0.0	0	0.0
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	4.1	3.3	3.6	3.9
12. Unemployed	5.6	5.6	4.9	4.4
13. Not in labour force	46.6	37.1	47.0	44.4
14. Not applicable				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	10.5	8.9	9.2	7.9

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has emphasised the diversity of the 15-19 years age group with regard to school, work and unemployment, and has revealed some of the complexities in the analysis of migrant youth employment patterns.

Analysis of the status of teenage males is relatively straightforward because there are only two main categories, full-time education or work, in which most are found. Analysis of the experience of teenage females is more complex because of the additional possibility of being neither at school nor at work and the further influence of whether the girl is married. The Lebanese girls present a unique category in these respects.

Four main factors have been analysed in relation to the activities of the 15-19 years age group—the proportions still at school (which, in turn, depend on the age pattern at leaving school), the labour force participation rates of school leavers, the level of unemployment and the type of jobs that the employed are doing. Obviously these four factors are interrelated and, in particular, age at leaving school has been shown to have an influence on labour force participation rates and unemployment rates.

One important observation is that the teenage workforce is atypical of the entire 15-19 years age group, particularly in relation to age at leaving school and, naturally, the higher the school retention rate, the more atypical the teenage workforce is likely to be. This is most likely to occur among the Greek population, for whom school retention rates are exceptionally high and to a lesser extent among Lebanese males.

The combination of an age pattern of leaving school, with the peak at the middle ages 15-16 years and high labour fource participation rates at these ages (rather than at the younger or older ages at leaving school), means that teenage school leavers in the workforce are heavily concentrated with a school leaving age of 15–16 years. However, while the unemployed component in the Australian-born teenage workforce is almost exclusively composed of early school leavers those in the other groups contain larger proportions who had little or no schooling or who left at the older ages (but had not necessarily reached a higher level of schooling).

One indication of the increased investment in education and consequently the increased opportunity for upward mobility among successive cohorts is the transition in the age pattern of leaving school. A comparison of the experience of the 25–29 years age group, the 20–24 years age group and projected experience of the 15–19 years age group illustrates the strong and consistent trend towards an older age at leaving school among both male and female Greeks and, to a slightly lesser degree, among Italians.

Of the four birthplace groups, the experience of the Italian-born is closest to that of the Australian-born in terms of age at leaving school, labour force participation and male-female differences. The Greeks differ from these two by exhibiting relatively higher school retention rates and consequently lower labour force participation rates and slightly better opportunities for males compared with females. However, one area where the Italian youth are most unlike the Australian-born is with regard to their higher proportions in the employer or self-employed category.

While the Lebanese youth to some extent resemble the Greek youth with regard to school participation rates, the Greek youth are somewhat better off with regard to their occupational distribution and employer–employee status and they also experience considerably lower unemployment rates. The Turkish youth are currently severely disadvantaged with respect to school retention, employer–self-employed status and occupation distribution, although they are marginally better off than the Lebanese with regard to their level of unemployment.

By Australian standards the Lebanese and Turkish girls are disadvantaged by leaving school early to work in unskilled jobs or not to work at all. However, it must be remembered that this may be seen as the best choice of activity from their family's or their society's point of view. To the traditional Lebanese or Turkish parent it is important that the girls are closely protected and in some cases they feel that this can be achieved only by taking the girls away from the freedom encountered at an Australian school. The position of girls is further affected by the variation in the family's attitude to the economic role of women in the family. Whereas Lebanese women characteristically exhibit low labour force participation rates at all ages and especially within the 15–19 years age group, Turkish women have one of the highest labour force participation rates of any ethnic group in Australia and this is also reflected in the large proportion of Turkish girls in the workforce.

Part of the explanation for the very high proportion of Lebanese females who are neither at school nor at work is the fact that a very high proportion are married; in addition, their married component has a much lower labour force participation rate compared with that of married females from other birthplaces. The labour force participation rates of married females are highest for the second generation Greeks and Italians and these also have the lowest proportions of females engaged in home duties.

In view of the complex nature of the relationship between the level of unemployment and the workforce status of married women, a better indication of differences in levels of unemployment among 15–19-year-old (and 20–24-year-old) women might be the rate for the never married component. This would mean that unemployment among females seeking work is even higher than the rates normally quoted for the whole age group.

Some of the most significant changes in the experience from the first to the second generation Greek and Italian youth include higher ages at leaving school and a higher school retention rate, a larger proportion of school leavers in further education and consequently a lower labour force participation rate among 15–19-year-olds. There is also a lower proportion of second generation female school leavers who are not in the labour force and lower proportions of second generation young adult women who are married.

In the second generation there are slightly higher proportions in the professional category (more evident in the 20–24 than in the 15–19 years age group), clerical occupations (where far greater

Table 3.23: **Occupational distribution of females born in Greece and Italy and Australian-born females whose fathers were born in these countries (Never married females aged 20–24 years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the woman or her father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
	Per cent			
1. Professional, Technical	8.4	12.8	7.7	11.7
2. Managers, Administrators	0.9	0.4	0.5	0.6
3. Clerical workers	28.3	42.2	41.5	42.2
4. Sales workers	7.0	8.4	7.5	9.5
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0	0.4	0.7	1.8
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0	0	0	0
7. Transport, Communication	0.7	1.5	1.0	0.7
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	24.2	3.9	13.1	4.6
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	4.9	6.0	5.9	5.6
10. Armed Services	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	2.9	2.6	3.9	2.9
12. Unemployed	5.8	4.1	5.0	4.2
13. Not in labour force	16.9	17.6	13.1	16.0
14. Not applicable				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	7.0	5.0	5.8	5.0

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

Table 3.24: **Occupational distribution of females born in Greece and Italy, and Australian-born females whose fathers were born in these countries (Married females aged 20-24 aged years in Australia at the 1976 Census)**

	Birthplace of the woman or her father			
	Greece		*Italy*	
Occupation	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*	*Overseas-born*	*Aust.-born*
	Per cent			
1. Professional, Technical	1.1	6.7	2.3	6.6
2. Managers, Administrators	0.3	1.1	0.5	1.0
3. Clerical workers	9.8	31.0	18.7	28.8
4. Sales workers	8.5	9.4	5.8	7.8
5. Farmers, Fishermen etc.	0.9	1.3	1.5	4.1
6. Miners, Quarrymen	0	0	0	0
7. Transport, Communication	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.8
8. Tradesmen, Prod. Proc. workers	21.2	3.5	0	2.9
9. Service, Sport, Recreation	5.3	3.5	4.2	4.1
10. Armed Services	0	0	0.1	0
11. Inad. Desc., Not stated	3.6	2.6	3.0	2.5
12. Unemployed	3.0	2.3	2.3	1.9
13. Not in labour force	46.0	37.9	49.3	39.7
14. Not applicable				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment rate *(a)*	5.6	3.7	4.5	3.2

(a) Excluding those not in the labour force.

increases have occurred for females than males), some increases in farming and large decreases in the proportions in the tradesman production-process worker and labourer category for both sexes. Within a given age group slightly larger proportions of second generation males and females are employers or self-employed and the second generation also experiences a greater increase with age in the proportion who are employers or self-employed.

However, unemployment rates are only marginally different between first and second generations and not a great deal of difference is observed in the proportions of males with trade or technical qualifications, although relatively greater differences exist between the proportions with a degree or diploma.

As far as can be surmised from the 1971 census data, the upward mobility experienced from the first to the second generation is a continuation of the increase in socio-economic status observed within a given birthplace and within a given age group with increasing duration of residence in Australia.

Briefly, to summarise the experience of the four main birthplace groups, both the Greeks and Italians have achieved positions not very distant from the Anglo-Australian population, but have followed different paths to reach this status. While Lebanese males are also approaching experience characteristic of the host population, the Lebanese females constitute a unique group and are the most distant of all from the Australian pattern.

There has been an improvement in the status of Turkish males from one five-year group to the next, although they still have some way to go in achieving a more desirable occupational distribution and a greater access to higher education. Turkish girls have shown rather less improvement in status and are disadvantaged by their early age at leaving school and high concentration in unskilled occupations.

CHAPTER 4

Ethnic language, participation and identity

4.1 Introduction

In the process of integration both first and second generation immigrants are able to exercise a degree of choice in relation to the extent to which they maintain their ability to speak the language of origin, participate with others of the same ethnic roots and generally preserve either an 'ethnic' identity which relates to the country of origin or a dual identity which combines both the country of origin and the country of residence. In the case of young people that choice is not entirely their own. To some degree it is made on their behalf by their parents when they decide which language to speak at home, also whether to send their children to particular language classes and, through the lifestyle that they develop and the social network within which they move.

The significance of the identity choice that is made will vary. It may signify a degree of rejection of either one's origins or of the country of residence; it may represent an inability to enter into the new environment; it may carry with it a degree of disadvantage within the country of residence. Much has been written about the effects of culture tension and conflict within the lives of youth of immigrant origin and of a state of cultural marginality for all immigrants, but such conditions are not always seen as having adverse repercussions. They may enhance the lives of those caught in such situations by making them broader and richer people.

In this section we explore the situation with the Greek and Italian samples in relation to language abilities, participation in activities arranged by the ethnic group of origin, association with friends of the same ethnic background and general use made of the ethnic group of origin when securing employment. The data do not enable us to reach any conclusions relating to final choice of ethnic identity but they do enable us to develop some insights in this area.

It is important to bear in mind that substantial proportions of the sample were born in Australia. The figures range from 45.3 per cent of the Greek males to 79.2 per cent of the Italian males with an average across the four groups of 64 per cent. A further 18 per cent comprised individuals who were born outside Australia but arrived in Australia aged five years or less. Thus some 82 per cent of the Italians and Greeks were either born in Australia or arrived here at a very young age. The category with fewest in this situation was the Greek males with 71.7 per cent either born here or young arrivals. The other three categories range from 87 to 91 per cent in that situation. On the other hand, the fact that many of the parents of these young people were from rural backgrounds probably means that the influence of the homes was likely to have been strongly Italian or Greek in a large majority of situations. Moreover, the effects of chain migration and of the resulting strong kin structures and organisational developments would have meant that very many of these young people as children were likely to have been exposed to considerable ethnic influence.

The large majority of respondents stated their intention to remain in Australia with most of the others being undecided. However, there was a difference between the Greek and Italian respondents of some 20 per cent. Some 73 per cent of the Greek respondents said that they intended to stay while 92 per cent of the Italian respondents were of that mind. This difference may reflect the larger proportion of Greeks born overseas, at least in part, or it may reflect a different attitude in each group to the view of migration as permanent.

4.2 Language ability

The maintenance of the parental native tongue can be regarded as an indication of a desire to participate in ethnic group life and/or to perpetuate a sense of ethnic identity. Information obtained on the ability of the respondents to speak their language of origin is shown in Table 4.1.

It is possible that the interviewers may have had some difficulty in assessing the standard of some respondents' ability, or that respondents may have used different standards for self-assessment. However, even allowing for some errors of this kind, the proportions with reasonable to very good ability in the native language are very high. This is particularly so among the Greek respondents where there is also very little variation between males and females. Among the Italian respondents the situation is a little more complex. Some respondents spoke a dialect rather than Italian and, while the dialect may be of more limited usefulness in some contexts, we can combine the results for Italian and dialect for most purposes. When we do so we find that fewer of the Italian males are fully fluent than is true of the Greek males, while the reverse is true of the females. Overall, however, nearly three times as many of the Italian respondents of both sexes speak the parental language either poorly or not at all than is true of the Greek respondents. There are several possible reasons for these differences. A degree of the difference may be explained by the longer period of residence in Australia of the Italian sample, resulting in a greater use of English in the home. However, it is also likely that language is of lesser significance in the Italian community than it is in the Greek as a culture maintenance mechanism. It may even be that a maintenance of ethnic identity in this overt sense is seen as less important among Italians than among Greeks. [illegible] for an ability in the language of origin to be developed either within the family and its social network or as a result of formal studies. Within both the Greek and Italian communities private language classes are available on a fairly widespread basis as well as both languages being taught in a number of day schools. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had undertaken formal language studies and, if so, in which type of classes. The results to this question are shown in Table 4.2.

These results are of interest in several different ways. Firstly, they emphasise the considerable differences between the Greek and Italian respondents on this matter. Well over twice the proportion of Italians have not engaged in formal studies of the parents' native language. On the face of it, this appears to be further confirmation of the earlier observation that the Italian youth and probably the families of which they are members, place much less emphasis than do the Greeks on the maintenance of the native language. On the other hand, some 87 per cent of the Italian respondents still end up with a reasonable or better knowledge of either Italian or a dialect. Given that about that same percentage is either Australian-born or very young arrivals, it seems that these young people are being exposed to their language of origin to a sufficient degree to ensure that they develop some measure of mastery of it. Another interesting difference between the two ethnic groups lies in the degree to which the language is studied in classes outside school. Between the males the

Table 4.1 **Distribution of sample according to ability to speak Greek or Italian (1980-81 survey)**

					Italian Male				*Italian Female*			
	Greek Male		*Greek Female*		*Italian*		*Dialect*		*Italian*		*Dialect*	
Ability	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Very good	10	19	13	23	6	11	1	2	6	8	14	19
Good	20	38	18	31	14	26	2	4	13	18	17	23
Reasonable	19	36	21	36	14	26	8	15	5	7	7	9
Poor	2	4	3	5	6	12	-	-	7	9	-	-
Not at all	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	4	-	-
No response	2	[illegible]	3	5	1	2	-	-	2	3	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100			53	100			74	100(a)

(a) [illegible]

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Table 4.2: Proportion who have undertaken formal study of Greek or Italian language in Australia (1980-81 survey)

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
Form of Study	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No formal study	10	19	8	14	25	47	25	34
Study at school	24	45	17	29	16	30	38	51
Study outside school	13	25	22	38	10	19	7	9
Study both at and outside school	4	7	8	14			2	3
No response etc.	2	4	3	5	2	4	2	3
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

difference is not very marked. Of those who have engaged in formal studies some 41 per cent of the Greek males and 38 per cent of the Italian males have studied in classes outside school, either as an alternative to or in addition to classes at school. With the females the comparable figures are 64 and 19 per cent. It seems likely that this difference reflects the higher proportion of Italian females attending Catholic High Schools and implies that the Italian language is either better catered for in these schools or more strongly encouraged. Given that involvement in language classes outside the day school is likely to constitute an additional time and study requirement on those involved, the Greeks may well be disadvantaged in this respect. On the other hand, attendance at outside language classes may be a matter of choice, by either students or their parents and relate to a strong desire to maintain a sense of ethnic identity by studying within the ethnic group.

Having found then that the Greeks are more likely to engage in formal studies of their language of origin, but that both Greeks and Italians for the most part maintain a reasonable to good knowledge of the language of origin, let us contrast this situation with abilities in English (see Table 4.3).

As with ability to speak Italian and Greek, assessment may account for a certain amount of the variation between the four groups. The data suggest that females do better than the males in obtaining a high standard and that the Greek males stand out as having the greatest difficulty in this area. It is interesting to note that over a quarter of the Greek males arrived in Australia aged 5 years or older and that a comparable proportion has some difficulties with English. Moreover, they are the only category with either of these two characteristics.

These figures on ability to speak English are consistent with the figures on attendance at English classes (Table 4.4).

Table 4.3: Distribution of Greeks and Italians according to ability to speak English (1980-81 survey)

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
Ability	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very well	15	28	35	60	26	49	44	60
Well	22	42	18	31	18	34	23	31
Basic knowledge	14	26	-	-	5	9	4	5
Poorly	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	
No response etc.	2	4	5	9	3	6	3	4
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

Table 4.4: Attendance at special English language classes (1980–81 survey)

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
	No.	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
None	21	40	40	69	28	53	50	68
Primary School	1	2	2	3	4	7	3	4
Secondary School	12	22	2	3	7	13	8	11
Primary and Secondary School	6	11	1	2	3	6	4	5
No response etc.	13	25	13	23	11	21	9	12
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

In these figures we see that the Greek males are almost twice as likely as any of the other three categories to attend special English classes at both primary and secondary school or at secondary school only. While this is consistent with the other characteristics of the Greek males, such as arrival age, it is alarming that despite this special assistance they remain the group whose knowledge of the English language is least adequate. The other interesting point about this table is that so few of the Greek females attend special English classes. Although their English language ability is comparable to that of the Italian females, they are far less likely to have attended special English classes at school. It is difficult to say why this might be so unless it relates to the findings of other studies that the educational aspirations of working class Italian females are low and that they may not be encouraged at home in their educational pursuits. This could account for the need for more special English language training at school than is apparently required by the Greeks.

4.3 Participation in ethnic group activities

A further indication of the part played by the ethnic origins of these young people may be gleaned from the information obtained on their participation in formal ethnic organisations. However, some comments are appropriate before considering these findings. First, it should not be assumed that formal organisations comprise the greater part of ethnic group life. Particularly where kin groups are large, as they tend to be in both the Greek and Italian populations, much of the social life of individuals is likely to consist of kin group functions revolving around baptisms, engagements, weddings, name-days and the like. Involvement in such events is as important as involvement in the activities of formal organisations in that both will tend to reinforce many aspects of ethnic identity. Second, one would expect many teenagers to be involved in peer group activities which are less likely to be either exclusively ethnic or located within formal organisations. Third, the question asked in the survey used the words 'belong to any Greek/Italian organisations' and this may have been confusing. A number of young people would not have had formal membership in their own right but may have been involved through their parents. Although the question went on to ask about attendance at meetings, the format of the question may have biased replies to some degree forwards a negative response. Bearing these points in mind, let us look at Table 4.5 and the findings on participation in ethnic organisations.

It is a well-established fact that the Greek community of Melbourne is a fairly highly organised one, by comparison with many others. Hence, if these replies from the Greek respondents are accurate then the low levels of participation are quite striking. The findings suggest that the Greek males particularly are uninvolved in the wide range of Greek youth clubs, church groups, regional associations and other sporting and cultural bodies. They may, of course, be actively involved in Greek parties, espresso bars and other such informal ethnic structures, but this almost complete absence of involvement at the formal level should be seen as highly significant. The Greek females are a little more than twice as likely to be participants but their participation is largely at the social level. One imagines that they attend dances and picnic excursions organised by the various Greek

Table 4.5: **Participation in Greek/Italian organisations (1980-81 survey)**

Extent of contact	*Greek Males*		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
No contact	46	86	42	73	35	66	41	56
Active member	2	4	2	3	3	5	-	-
Family member	-	-	2	3	2	4	12	16
Social participant	-	-	6	10	7	13	17	23
Used to belong	2	4	1	2	1	2	1	1
Intend to participate	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1
No response etc.	3	6	5	9	4	8	2	3
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

organisations and perhaps the church, whereas their male counterparts have and are permitted to engage in, alternative activities.

The Italian community is also quite highly organised but it seems to have been commonly believed that it was both less organised than the Greeks and involving smaller proportions of the respective populations. This has been attributed partly to the Roman Catholic faith of most Italians (obviating the necessity for much religious development on an ethnic basis) and partly to the longer period of residence in Australia. It may, however, be that, with a longer period of residence and larger numbers of well-established second generation individuals, there develops a wide range of formal activities which reflect the peculiar needs and interests of the second generation. If this were so then one would anticipate a greater involvement by the mainly Australian-born Italians than by the younger Greeks in a situation where formal organistions may still closely reflect the cultural values and activities of the Greek immigrants from a rural background. Whatever the reasons, the contrasts between the Greeks and the Italians are quite striking.

The Italian rate of participation in ethnic activities stands at 22.7 per cent for males and 39.2 per cent for females, while the relevant Greek figures are 3.8 and 17.1 per cent. Italian males are thus six times more likely to be participants than their Greek counterparts and Italian females almost two and a half times more likely than the Greek females. The considerable difference between the Italian males and females may, as with the Greeks where it is even greater, reflect a situation where the females are much more restricted in their social lives than are the males. This would certainly be consistent with the cultural values which their parents brought with them to Australia. However, it is also possible that the females have a stronger sense of ethnic identity and a greater liking for ethnic formal activities than the males.

Some of the Greek interviewers commented that they were struck by the intensity of the rejection of their culture of origin expressed by a number of the Greek respondents. This seemed to be particularly true of those living in the Northcote-Brunswick area. Does this observation and the low level of participation noted above, suggest that a high level of culture tension exists among the younger Greeks? That is to say, it is conceivable that the Greek youth are finding it difficult to accept and identify with the perpetuation of a strong sense of ethnic identity in Australia while at the same time establishing a meaningful place for themselves in Australian society. Unable to reconcile the two cultures, the males particularly may tend to withdraw from formal ethnic life. By contrast, the different stage of development of the Italian community and the different emphasis of their formal organisation as more 'Italo-Australian' organisations, may make it comparatively easier for the Italian young people to handle the dual identity and so leave them free to participate in ethnic activities without experiencing confusion.

4.4 Choice of friends

Another aspect of ethnic identity and participation covered by the study was the ethnic background of the respondents' friends (Table 4.6).

Remembering that large proportions of both the Greek and Italian samples were born in Australia and bearing in mind that almost 50 per cent of the total sample were living in an area of Melbourne where the origins of that population were very mixed, it is interesting to find 28 per cent of the total saying that their friends were all or mostly of the same ethnic origin as themselves. It is also interesting that the proportions in this situation were higher with both groups of females than with the males. Whether this situation suggests an inability on the part of these persons to feel at home among 'outsiders', or simply a preference, is impossible to say. In all probability it would reflect the large kin groups and active regional or village associations whose activities would influence the selection and maintenance of friendships.

If the respondents did not have all or mostly friends of the same ethnic origin, they were most likely to possess a very mixed group of ethnic and Australian friends and this was also the most likely situation applying to 47 per cent of the total. Given the overall circumstances of these young people, this can be considered to be their most common social situation and the results bear this out. It could be said to reflect integration in the community at large. An inability to integrate, leading to a high level of involvement with fellow ethnics, is an understandable occurrence in certain circumstances and is in fact the second most common. However, to comment on the relative sizes of these two groups is difficult in the absence of any norms. The remaining two categories, of mostly Australian and all non-Australian, are fairly equally represented in all groups except the Greek males. The Greek males are much less likely to fall into either of these categories than are any of the others and more than twice as likely to have all non-Australian friends than mostly Australian. If the culture tension tentatively suggested above is a reality with the Greek males, it does not lead to a rejection of Greek friends in favour of Australian. The Greek males are either very Greek-oriented in their choice of friends or well integrated and the proportion in this second situation is much higher than with any of the other three samples. Any tendency to reject Greek origins is apparently applicable only to organised ethnic life and does not influence choice of friends. It is also possible that it may not have any adverse effects on family relationships and so not constitute culture conflict in the normally accepted meaning of that term.

The choice of ethnic friends has been found in some other studies to relate closely to the place of birth, in terms of whether born in or out of the country of residence and the age of arrival in Australia. This does not seem to be so in this study, although the sample composition is strongly skewed

Table 4.6: **Distribution of sample according to ethnic background of friends (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
Background	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
All or mostly Italian/Greek	14	26	19	33	12	23	21	28
All non-Australian	5	9	8	14	9	17	10	14
Mixed ethnic & Australian	31	59	23	39	23	43	35	47
Mostly Australian	2	4	8	14	8	15	8	11
No response etc.	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

towards Australian-born. If we consider only the seventy-nine respondents who were born outside Australia, we find that the situation in relation to friends is very similar to that prevailing within the total sample. Some 27 per cent of that seventy-nine had friends mostly of the same ethnic origin and some 54 per cent possessed a very mixed group of friends. Again there were very few in either of the other two categories. If this group of seventy-nine is further divided in terms of the actual age on arrival, the choice of friends does not vary greatly with the various age cohorts, except for the teenage arrivals. In their case, 50 per cent of the six only respondents reported their friends to be mostly fellow countrymen.

However, there does seem to be some relationship between choice of friends and participation in ethnic organistions, which is predictable. Three of the seven active members have friends mostly of the same ethnic origin, while 37 per cent of the 'family members' and 'social participants' have a mixed circle of friends compared with 47 per cent of the total sample. These two characteristics of ethnic identity appear to be related, but neither characteristic is related to whether one is born in Australia or arrives here in pre-teen years.

In relation to any sense of ethnic identity it seems likely that the home environment could have a considerable influence. Certainly the language prevailing in the home will have some influence on the linguistic abilities of the children, but one would also expect that the extent to which norms and values pertaining to the culture of origin were maintained would also have an influence. In this study, information was obtained only on the language normally spoken at home (Table 4.7). These results can be regarded to some degree as a measure of cultural maintenance given the important role which language plays in both the maintenance and projection of culture, but they represent no more than an indication of the prevailing ethnic character of the home.

These figures are a reflection of the English language abilities of the parents in these families and the greater ability of the Italian parents in this regard is apparent. This may reflect no more than a longer period of residence in Australia as, presumably, does the difference between the Greek males and females in that we know that a larger proportion of the Greek males was born outside Australia. The larger proportion of Greek males who speak the ethnic language only at home is probably also a reflection of the larger proportion of this group born outside Australia. From these figures it is also easy to understand why so many of the sample had a reasonable to good knowledge of both English and the language of origin. The great majority were using the language of origin at least in communicating with their parents and possibly with a range of other adult relatives. At the same time their school and peer group environments necessitated the regular use of English. It would therefore be understandable that a high proportion would become bilingual. On the other hand, the use of the ethnic language at home may retard to some extent the development of English through reduced practice and the absence of correction of mistakes. However, apart from implications for langauge development we can say that well over 50 per cent of these young people as a whole and over 90 per cent of the Greek males, were growing up in home environments which had at least a strong ethnic component if not a predominantly ethnic character.

Table 4.7: **Distribution of sample according to language spoken at home (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
Language	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Always Greek/Italian	13	24	5	9	9	17	6	8
Greek/Italian to parents & English to siblings	36	68	42	72	24	45	50	68
All or mostly English	3	6	10	17	18	34	17	23
No response etc.	1	2	1	2	2	4	1	1
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

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In the course of the interviews the respondents were asked to comment on whether their home background and religion had had any special influence on their schooling, work, other activities and ambitions. To these questions the great majority answered that they had had no influence. A few, however, indicated that they appreciated that the home environment at least would have had a strong influence on the them, but they were unable to say what that influence had been. The large number responding in the negative probably reflected a similar inability to give a clear answer.

Of those who said that the home background had had an influence, by far the largest number expressed this in terms of pressure to complete their secondary school education. One Greek girl said that 'the Greek tradition is to go to school till you are finished and then get married'. The Italians in a number of cases referred to parental pressure to attend Catholic schools, often apparently against the student's wishes. Some made reference to social restrictions, such as not permitting participation in extra-familial social activities. For example, one said that he 'would have liked to do more sport but mother wouldn't allow it because it clashed with other family activities'. This boy was of Scottish origins. Very few thought that religion had had any special influence, except in the choice of school for some of the Italians. Also very few saw their background as influencing their ambitions, except in very general terms of being encouraged to get a good job. One of the few specific comments was from a Greek girl who said: 'I wanted to do nursing but my parents disagreed because it was a dirty job'. In relation to any influence on marriage plans, most of those who commented said either that they would be expected to marry or expected to make a good marriage by marrying either a good or rich man. A few said that they would be expected to marry a fellow Italian or Greek. Overall, however, the number of responses to this question were too few to be regarded as significant.

4.5 Role of the ethnic group in securing employment

Finally, there were three questions in the survey which touched on the extent to which ethnicity was a factor in the work experiences of these young people. The respondents were asked about the ethnic origins of the person for whom they worked while at school, of the person for whom they first worked after they left school and of the person for whom they were currently working. The proportions who did work part time while at school ranged from 31 per cent of the Greek females to 81 per cent of the Italian males and averaged overall 59.5 per cent. The figures in Table 4.8 indicate the extent to which this work was located within either the kin or ethnic contexts.

These results suggest that the males are far more likely to work in a family and/or ethnic context while at school than are the females. Nearly one-quarter of the Greek males and over one-third of the Italian males are subject to further ethnic influences in this way.

Once in full-time employment the ethnic group plays a more important role for all four samples than it did while in part-time work at school. The proportion of employers of the same ethnic background ranged from 17 per cent for Greek males to 40 per cent for Italian females and averaged 26 per cent. It may well be that Italian and Greek males in particular consider that they have a better chance of securing employment within the ethnic group and so try there first. However, these figures are also an indication of the extent to which Italians and Greeks have become employers and offer employment opportunities to others of the same ethnic background. It is particularly striking that so many of the Italian males secure their first job with parents, relatives or friends, or, in other words, through the family's social network.

When we consider those of the respondents who had changed jobs at least once since leaving school and the ethnic origins of their current employers the overall situation is unchanged. Whereas 27 per cent of those in first jobs worked for employers of the same ethnic background, this was true of 28 per cent of those who were in second or subsequent jobs at the time of interview. It seems, then, that the ethnic network continues to play an important role for at least one-quarter of these young people beyond the securing of initial employment. Whether this pattern changes either way in the longer term is impossible to say but, given the proportions of employers in the community who are Greeks and Italians, the figures for these samples are highly significant and demonstrate the importance of ethnic ties.

Table 4.8: **Type of employer during part-time employment while still at school, in the first full-time job and in the current full-time job (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek Males		*Greek Females*		*Italian Males*		*Italian Females*	
Employer	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Part-time employment while at school								
Relative, parent, or friend	9	17	2	3	13	24	3	4
Other Greek/Italian	3	6	1	2	7	13	5	7
Other non-Australian	2	4	2	3	2	4	4	5
Australian	10	19	11	20	12	23	16	22
Not stated	5	9	2	3	10	19	9	12
Not employed while at school	24	45	40	69	9	17	37	50
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100
First full-time job								
Relative, parent or friend	8	15	1	2	16	30	8	11
Other Greek/Italian	7	13	9	16	5	10	5	7
Other non-Australian	4	8	3	5	6	11	9	12
Australian	29	55	36	62	25	47	44	59
Never worked	5	9	9	15	1	2	8	11
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100
Current full-time job (including only those who have changed jobs)								
Relative, parent or friend	4	7	1	2	5	9	3	4
Other Greek/Italian	2	4	5	8	-	-	3	4
Other non-Australian	3	6	-	-	3	6	3	4
Australian	12	23	12	21	9	17	17	23
Has not changed job	32	60	40	69	36	68	48	65
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

4.6 Summary

In summarising the data on ethnic identity and participation deriving from this study, one is impressed by both the apparent importance of the ethnic factor for all categories of respondents and by the contrasts evident between both the sex and ethnic groupings. In general terms it can be said that this sample of Greek and Italian young people see their future as lying in Australia, maintain a good level of ability in their language origin while developing a reasonable to good ability with English, are not involved in formal ethnic organisations but are probably considerably involved in informal ethnic life and make use of their ethnic networks as they move from school into the workforce.

A contrast between the sexes is apparent in some of the variables considered. The females in both ethnic groups are more likely to speak English very well and less likely to have attended special English classes than are the males; they are more likely to be involved in formal ethnic activities and more likely to have mostly ethnic friends; and they are much less likely to work for an employer of the same ethnic background in their first full-time job, although almost as likely to as the males in their second or subsequent jobs.

The contrasts between the Greek and Italian samples are quite striking in some areas. This is usually more likely to be true of the Greek males than it is of the Greek females and here it must be borne in mind that the Greek males had the largest proportion (45 per cent) born overseas. By contrast with the Italians, the Greeks were less likely to state an intention of remaining in Australia, more likely to be very fluent in their language of origin, more likely to have been involved in formal classes in their ethnic language, less likely to speak good English in the case of the males only, less involved in ethnic formal organisations and more likely to come from homes where the ethnic language only was spoken, especially the males again.

This study suggests that the ethnic factor is an important one, however, the degree of its importance will depend on a range of additional factors.

CHAPTER 5

The school experience

A certain amount of factual data was requested of the respondents relating to the type of school attended, the number of years at school together with any major breaks away from school, the level of schooling attained and the age of leaving school. Respondents were asked also to comment on their school experience, both as it contrasted to schools in the country of origin and in terms of the benefits derived from the school experience. Finally, the respondents were asked to indicate their reasons for leaving school. We shall consider the findings in relation to these various questions and then turn to the situation pertaining to post-school training.

5.1 Distribution of the sample by type of school

The sample was drawn by approaching the high schools, technical schools and Roman Catholic schools in the suburbs selected and obtaining from them lists of appropriate school leavers. Understandably, more of the males than of the females interviewed had attended technical schools and more of the Italian females than of any other group had attended Roman Catholic schools. The distribution of the final sample is set out in Table 5.1. The figures in this table indicate that most of the Greeks interviewed had attended State schools with a larger proportion of the males at technical schools than was true of the females. With the Italians the Catholic schools had been far more frequently utilised than they had by either of the other two ethnic groupings and this was particularly so with the females where more than 25 per cent had attended Catholic schools. More Italian males than females had attended technical schools, as is true of the sample as a whole, but the numbers of females in both the Italian and Anglo-Australian samples attending technical schools were significantly lower than with the Greek sample. The Anglo-Australian sample differed from the other two samples mainly in that nearly 50 per cent of the males had attended technical schools. However, too much relevance should not be attached to this distribution among the different types of schools because at least some of the variation could be an outcome of the sampling methods employed. On the other hand, the actual distribution of the sample by schools could well be relevant as an influence on the distribution of some of the following variables.

5.2 Level of schooling attained

Respondents from overseas were asked how many years they had attended school in their countries of origin. Of the total of eighty-three who said that they had been born overseas, only thirty-six had attended a school overseas. The periods of time attended are shown in Table 5.2. The proportions of both the total sample and of the Greek and Italian samples attending school overses are very small. Moreover, a large proportion of those who did attend school overseas attended only the first few years of primary school.

Accordingly, when we look at the number of years of school attendance in Australia we find that a large proportion of the sample had received either all or the greater part of their schooling in Australia. However, these figures on years of school attendance are also important as an indication of the number of years spent at school to obtain a particular academic level. Respondents were not asked specifically whether they were ever obliged to repeat a year but the figures on school attendance when compared with the figures on levels obtained at school (Table 5.5) suggest that some repetition probably occurred.

Table 5.3 seems to indicate that some of the Greek males may have been early leavers. However, it

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Table 5.1: **Distribution of the sample according to the last school attended by the respondents (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of school	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
State High School	28	3	48	83	24	45	50	67	21	40	42	81
Catholic High School	5	9	1	2	7	13	20	27	7	13	3	6
State Technical School	19	36	7	12	20	38	2	3	25	47	2	4
Private School	1	2	2	3	2	4	2	3	-	-	5	9
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

Table 5.2: **Number of years of school attendance overseas among the Greeks and Italians in the sample (1980–81 survey)**

	Number of Respondents	
Years of schooling overseas	*Greek*	*Italian*
1– 3	9	12
4– 6	9	1
7– 9	3	-
10–12	1	1
Total	22	14

Table 5.3: **Distribution of the sample according to the number of years of school attendance in Australia (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Years at school	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	5	9	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	1	2
7	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
9	3	6	5	8	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
10	10	19	2	3	9	17	5	7	8	15	8	6
11	15	28	20	34	8	15	22	30	23	44	11	21
12	10	19	23	40	24	45	38	51	14	26	22	42
13	2	4	4	7	7	13	5	7	6	11	9	17
14	1	2	1	2	3	6	-	-	1	2	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

Table 5.4: **Distribution of the sample according to interruptions to schooling (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of interruption	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Long breaks from school	9	17	7	12	11	1	10	13	8	6	4	8
Changes of school	4	7	4	7	7	13	2	3	3	6	8	15
Both of these	3	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No interruptions	37	70	46	79	35	66	62	84	41	78	40	77
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

Table 5.5: **Distribution of the sample according to level of schooling achieved (1980 –81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Years reached	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
8	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
9	6	11	5	9	2	4	1	1	2	4	4	8
10	13	25	7	12	12	23	18	24	15	28	7	13
11	23	43	29	50	27	51	39	53	34	64	23	44
12	9	17	17	29	12	22	16	22	2	4	17	33
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

is difficult to be sure because, although fifteen Greek males attended school in Australia for nine years or less, we know that fifteen Greek males also attended schools overseas for periods ranging from one to eight years. This table also shows a small number attending school for fourteen or fifteen years and, therefore, presumably repeating one or more years.

The figures on school attendance suggest that the Greek females spend a longer period at school than do the males, with a much larger proportion of males leaving school after ten years and of the females after twelve years. By contrast, more of the Italian males and females attend school for twelve or more years than do the Greeks and, in their case, the males are somewhat more likely to attend for the longer periods. When we contrast the Anglo-Australian figures with the others we find that they have higher proportions attending school for thirteen years than have the other groups while with them the females are the more likely to stay at school for a longer period. Although the actual percentages are likely to be influenced by the sampling methods, the variation between the ethnic groups and the sexes is probably a reflection of the actual situation.

Respondents were asked whether they had had either long breaks or frequent absences from school and also whether they had changed schools frequently. Table 5.4 sets out the figures on interruptions to schooling. The figures in this table suggest that males more than females are likely to experience long breaks or frequent absences from school regardless of their ethnic origins, with the Greek and Italian males being slightly more prone to this occurrence than the Anglo-Australian males. The Greek and Italian females are considerably more likely to have such breaks than are the Anglo-Australians, so that this may be an important factor in the schooling of immigrants. The numbers who reported changes of school are very low in all groups, implying that the immigrant families are possibly no more mobile than others. Overall 76 per cent of respondents do not experience notable interruptions or changes in their schooling with, however, the Italian and Greek males being the two groups who differ significantly from the other groups in this respect.

More significant than the number of years of schooling from an employment perspective is probably the level of education attained as a result of those years at school. The figures in Table 5.5 suggest that the Greek males are most likely to be early drop-outs at Years 8 and 9 and the Greek females more likely to be than the Italian females. At the top end of the scale the Greek females and the Anglo-Australian females show higher proportions reaching Year 12 balanced in both cases by fewer leaving at Year 10 level. By contrast the Greek males and particularly the Anglo-Australian males are less likely to reach Year 12, although when Years 11 and 12 are taken together it can be seen that the Greek males are slightly lower achievers than the Anglo-Australian males. It is possible that the Anglo-Australian males are simply more realistic about their possibilities and leave at Year 11. When we contrast the sexes in terms of the proportions reaching Years 11 and 12, we find a considerably higher proportion of females at these levels among both the Greeks and Anglo-Australians but very little difference between the sexes in the Italian sample. Although some of these contrasts could be explained by sampling, the trends are in fact fairly consistent.

As we saw in the literature review, many of the studies report a discrepancy between the number of years spent at school and the level reached on the one hand and the level in fact passed on the other. In this study the respondents were asked to indicate which certificates had been attempted and which were passed. The results are in Table 5.6. If we compare the figures in Table 5.6 with the previous table on the level of schooling completed, it appears that in most groups there was a small number who reached either Year 11 or 12 but did not sit for the relevant certificate. It is also clear that the pass rate at Year 12 for these students is low, a little over one-third at best. However, as the sampling excluded those who went on to full-time tertiary studies a low pass rate was to be expected. When the various groups in Table 5.6 are compared the Greek males come out badly, with one Higher School Certificate pass out of ten who reached Year 12. Of the others the Greek females have a pass rate of one in four, the Italian males one in three and both the Italian females and Anglo-Australian females slightly better than this. At the Leaving Certificate level the pass rate is much better, with well over two-thirds for all the groups except the Anglo-Australian males where it is almost exactly two-thirds. The proportions reaching levels below Leaving are highest for the Anglo-Australian males closely followed by the Greek males; the Italian females and Anglo-Australian females lie fairly close to the

Table 5.6: **Distribution of the sample according to level of schooling attempted or completed (1980–81 survey)**

Level attempted	*Greek*				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Reached a level below Leaving	20	37	14	24	15	9	25	34	22	41	17	32
Sat Leaving and failed	4	7	7	12	4	7	4	6	4	8	4	8
Passed Leaving	19	36	22	38	26	49	33	45	22	41	17	32
Sat TOP and failed	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-
Passed TOP	3	6	3	5	2	4	2	3	1	2	2	4
Sat HSC and failed	3	6	8	14	2	4	3	4	2	4	4	10
Passed HSC	1	2	4	7	4	7	6	8	-	-	7	14
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

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Table 5.7: **Distribution of the sample according to level of schooling satisfactorily completed (1980–81 survey)**

Level completed satisfactorily	*Total Sample*	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
		Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
				Per cent			
Below Leaving	41	45	36	36	40	49	40
Leaving	49	47	52	53	49	49	42
TOP	4	6	5	4	3	2	4
HSC	6	2	7	7	8	-	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5.8: **Distribution of the sample according to age at leaving school (1980–81 survey)**

Age in years	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
14	-	-	6	-	-	6
15	12	10	2	10	11	11
16	34	21	36	28	53	31
17	34	41	50	47	25	37
18	18	26	4	14	9	13
19	2	2	2	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

mean of 33 per cent with below Leaving, while the Greek females have the lowest proportion in this category with 24 per cent.

Apart from the contrasts between the groups, it is also important that we consider these figures as an indication of the general education level successfully completed by the young people whose movement from school to work we are examining. The overall situation is that 41 per cent completed a level below Leaving, 49 per cent we can assume completed Leaving, 4 per cent completed the Tertiary Orientation Program (TOP) successfully and 6 per cent passed their HSC. The figures for each grouping are given in Table 5.7. When these figures are considered it is apparent that, among this sample who did not proceed to tertiary education, the Greek and Anglo-Australian males have a lower standard of education than have the other groups. There is little difference between the Greek females, Italian males and Italian females, while the Anglo-Australian females have the highest standards.

The final set of figures concerning the school experience relate to the age at leaving school (see Table 5.8.). The figures in Table 5.8 suggest that the Greeks are older when they reach the higher levels than are the Italians and Anglo-Australians. A considerable proportion of the Greeks are aged 18 or 19 years at the time of leaving school (25 per cent), while 10 per cent of the Italians and 13 per cent of the Anglo-Australians are of this age. These figures may suggest that adjustment to schooling is on the whole more difficult for the Greeks than for the other two groups, so requiring more years for them to reach what are often in fact lower levels. Whether they remain on at school as a result of personal motivation or parental pressure we shall consider at a later point. The situation of the Greeks is highlighted in Table 5.9; while the Greeks had the largest proportions aged 18 and 19 years on leaving school, the Greek males in fact have the smallest proportion of their total numbers in Years 11 and 12.

Table 5.9: **Proportions aged 18 and 19 years on leaving school and proportions of these then in Years 11 and 12 (1980–81 survey)**

On leaving school	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Percentage aged 18 and 19	18.9	27.6	5.7	14.9	11.3	15.4
Percentage in Years 11 and 12	60.4	79.3	73.5	74.3	67.9	76.9

5.3 Benefit of things learned at school

The respondents were asked to say how they had benefitted from the things they had learnt at school and to do so both in relation to working in a job and in other ways. If respondents had not yet joined the workforce he or she was sometimes asked to indicate how they thought they would benefit from things learnt at school.

Table 5.10 provides a list of the items mentioned. When the ethnic groups are compared in relation to the perceived benefits of school for work purposes, it is found that Greek males and females and Italian females place an above average emphasis on English. The females in all three groups emphasise typing and shorthand but the Italian females do so more than twice as frequently (and the Greek females nearly twice as frequently) as the Anglo-Australian females. Mathematics is important to quite a few of the Greeks and Italians but more so to the Anglo-Australian males and very much less so to the Anglo-Australian females. Metalwork and welding and other manual skills are exclusively male areas, but with both items the Greek males see them as less important than do the other two groups of males. Finally, it is interesting to note that general awareness and general knowledge brought a small response from all groups. Communication with others was of some importance to all Greeks and Italians and to Anglo-Australian females. We should, however, note the significant proportions in all sex and ethnic groups who failed to identify anything learnt at school as of potential benefit for employment.

The figures show all these groups to be fairly skills oriented in their perception of the work-related benefits of school and the pre-occupation of both sexes with certain specific skills areas is both very marked and common to all three ethnic groups. The only difference of any great significance between the groups is the understandably greater emphasis placed by those of immigrant origin on English.

In regard to things learnt at school of benefit in ways other than for work Table 5.12 shows the items mentioned. When these are examined according to sex and ethnic group, it is noted that both Greek males and females were slightly more likely to mention 'Greater understanding of the world' and Greek and Italian females were more likely to mention 'Gaining confidence'. It is interesting to see how frequently 'Communicating with and relating to others' was mentioned and that it was consistently mentioned by all ethnic groups. With the other items the numbers are small and the differences between ethnic groups are probably not very significant.

5.4 Comments on Australian schools

The comparatively few respondents who had been to school in either Greece or Italy were asked to comment on what they saw to be the differences between the two educational systems. Of those who did see a difference, most saw it as lying in the matter of discipline. Schools in Greece and Italy were seen as more disciplined with students permitted less independence. Ten of the twenty-two Greek males saw this as the main difference, three of the seven Greek females but only two of the eight Italian females. Smaller numbers of respondents saw the education systems in Italy and Greece as superior to the Australian system, with four of the eight Italian females making this comment. A few considered Australian schools to be superior because of kinder teachers (three cases) and a better education (two cases). Given that very few had had any substantial experience of schools overseas,

Table 5.10: **Distribution of the sample according to detailed list of the stated benefits of school in a job, and in general (total sample 1980–81 survey)**

Benefits of schooling	*Useful in:*	
	Job	*General*
	Per cent*	
1. English, reading, writing	25	11
2. Mathematics	21	7
3. Typing, shorthand	16	2
4. Accountancy, bookkeeping	7	2
5. Greek/Italian language for communication	3	2
6. Other academic subjects	1	–
7. Basic skills (unspecified)	2	1
8. Craft subjects, art	2	3
9. Metalwork, welding	4	–
10. Technical drawing, design, graphics	2	1
11. Other manual skills, incl. carpentry	8	1
12. Greater understanding of the world through studying economics, politics, law	2	3
13. Communicating with other people, relating to other people, mixing with people, behaving in a job	15	30
14. Social science, history, human geography, incl. learning about other cultures	1	4
15. Greater awareness, broader views (if not applicable to codes 12–14), general knowledge	4	10
16. Learning independence	–	1
17. Becoming an individual, character development, learning who he/she is	1	2
18. Gaining confidence	1	3
19. How to budget	1	1
20. Learning sport, healthy lifestyle, nutrition, leisure, relaxation	–	4
21. Discipline	1	3
22. Value of education for everyday life	1	3
23. Reading (recreation)	–	1
24. Computer operations etc.	1	–
25. Drama, music	1	2
26. Biology, science, geology etc. (including relevance to environmental issues)	1	1
27. Electronics, physics	3	1
28. Motor mechanics	1	–
29. Work experience	3	1
30. Experience in leadership, organising other people	–	1
31. Living skills	1	1
32. Cooking	1	2
33. Nothing of benefit	23	30
n	343	343

* Because the respondents were able to state up to two benefits from school in a job and in general the percentages add to more than 100.

these responses may reflect parental attitudes rather than the personal judgments of the respondents.

Whether they were able to adequately contrast the two systems or not, quite a few respondents seized on the issue of discipline. Many echoed the following sentiments: 'The school is too slack. The teachers don't really care if you do the work or not: it is up to you' or, as another said, 'The individual has to have the sense to do some work'.

All the respondents were asked to say what comments their parents made about Australian schools and the results of this question are contained in Table 5.13. The first thing to be noted from this table is the overall proportion of those who answered this question who thought that their parents were satisfied with the education system. While one in five gave this answer, it was much more likely to be given by the Anglo-Australian respondents than by either the Greeks or the Italians. The respondents of Greek origins saw their parents as being particularly concerned about discipline in Australian schools, as did also the Italian females and the Anglo-Australian females. Some of the typical comments were, 'They think teachers are too young here and not strict enough', or 'They think there is too much apathy now in teachers and they don't seem to care about migrant children'.

It seems that this concern is very much a sex-related one as well as being one which the Greeks highlight. The Greek respondents were the only ethnic group who saw their parents as concerned about discrimination being exercised by the schools towards their children. Apparently the Greek parents feel less accepted by school authorities. One Greek mother commented:

> Many new Australian children are pushed out of the schools by the teachers themselves because they want the migrant children to become labourers in factories rather than learn things in school.

Table 5.11: **Most commonly stated things learnt at school of benefit in working in a job according to sex and ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

		Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Subject	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
				Per cent*			
1.	English	27	39	17	26	19	20
2.	Mathematics	23	21	25	23	26	8
3.	Typing	–	28	–	39	–	16
4.	Accountancy	–	12	10	8	–	10
5.	Greek or Italian	2	4	4	5	–	–
7.	Basic skills	–	2	2	3	–	2
8.	Craft subjects, art	4	–	–	3	–	2
9.	Metalwork	8	–	10	–	11	–
10.	Technical drawing	4	–	8	–	2	–
11.	Other manual skills	12	–	21	1	19	–
12.	Greater understanding through economics, politics	–	2	4	1	–	2
13.	Communication	8	25	12	12	6	29
15.	Greater awareness	2	2	4	3	8	4
27.	Electronics	8	–	10	–	2	–
29.	Work experience	–	2	6	3	–	6
	Other things	4	5	13	8	10	10
	Nothing of benefit	38	17	15	22	16	15
	n	53	58	53	74	53	52

* Because the respondents were able to state up to two things learned at school that were of benefit in a job, the percentages may add to more than 100.

Table 5.12: **Most commonly stated things learnt at school of general benefit according to sex and ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Subject	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent*			
1. English	18	6	15	7	10	15
2. Mathematics	10	4	6	6	8	10
3. Typing	–	6	–	3	–	–
4. Accountancy	5	2	2	1	–	–
5. Greek or Italian	2	2	2	3	–	–
8. Craft subjects, art	–	8	–	4	–	6
12. Greater understanding through economics, politics	5	8	–	1	–	2
13. Communication	27	36	36	33	22	25
14. Social science	–	8	4	9	2	2
15. Greater awareness	7	9	11	13	10	8
17. Becoming an individual	–	2	–	4	4	2
18. Confidence	–	8	–	7	–	–
20. Sport, health etc	–	2	4	6	4	4
21. Discipline	–	4	4	6	2	2
22. Education for everyday life	–	–	6	4	4	–
25. Drama	–	–	4	1	–	6
32. Cooking	–	–	–	3	2	4
Other things	10	2	23	6	6	4
Nothing of benefit	34	32	17	26	34	38
n	53	58	53	74	53	52

* Because the respondents were able to state up to two things of general benefit to them, the percentages may add to more than 100.

Table 5.13: **Distribution of parental comments on Australian schools (1980–81 survey)**

Comment	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
Education in Australia satisfactory	7	17	19	5	43	42
Overseas schools more disciplined	19	13	6	11	8	12
Student's work harder in Italy/Greece	6	2	2	10	-	-
Better education in Italy/Greece	7	7	7	7	6	-
Discrimination against migrants in Australian schools	10	3	-	-	-	-
Negative comments on Australian schools	7	7	6	12	17	21
Positive comments on Australian schools	4	9	2	-	-	4
Australian education better than in Italy/Greece	4	2	2	1	-	-
Australian teachers helpful, kinder	2	-	-	-	-	-
No response	34	40	56	54	26	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Positive comments	17	27	23	7	44	46
Negative comments	49	33	21	39	30	33
No comment	34	40	56	54	26	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5.14: **Distribution of the sample according to reasons for leaving school (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Reason given	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Tired of school/study	9	17	6	10	11	21	17	23	14	26	5	10
Not clever enough	7	13	13	22	8	15	15	20	3	6	9	17
Wanted to get a job	8	15	7	12	3	6	11	15	5	9	5	10
Wanted vocational training	9	17	8	14	12	23	6	8	3	6	-	-
Harder to get a job later	2	4	3	5	6	11	1	1	17	32	2	4
Wanted to earn money	4	7	4	7	4	7	3	4	1	2	8	16
Not happy at school	6	12	4	7	2	4	4	6	2	4	4	8
Wanted independence	1	2	3	5	-	-	4	6	1	2	6	11
Could not continue	2	4	-	-	2	4	1	1	4	7	-	-
Not learning enough	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11
Other	4	7	8	14	5	9	12	16	2	4	7	13
No reply	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

If we compare the sum of positive comments about Australian schools with the sum of negative comments the situation is as shown in Table 5.13. We find that the largest proportion of parents with negative attitudes is that of the parents of the Greek males. This may relate to high Greek parental aspirations for sons, as some studies have shown. Negative comments are next most common with the parents of the Italian females and this may reflect a cultural desire to protect daughters from bad influences. The other groups are comparable apart from the Italian males, who do not see their parents as very negative at all. However, it is possible that these findings are influenced by the large number with no comment. Did these young people not know how their parents saw their schools or were they preferring to say nothing because the perceived attitudes were either embarrassing or otherwise unacceptable?

5.5 Reasons for leaving school

The respondents were asked why they had left school rather than proceed to further full-time education. Their answers are set out in Table 5.14. No marked differences appear in the figures of the various groups. The males are generally more likely to grow tired of school or of study than are the females, but the Italian females are an exception here. On the other hand, the females are more likely to see themselves as not clever enough to continue. The males are more oriented towards vocational training than the females while the Anglo-Australian males seem to have been very much more apprehensive about their employment prospects if they had stayed on at school. The Anglo-Australian females are more motivated by a desire for independence and a desire to earn money than are any of the other groups, while they are also most likely to be critical of what they are receiving from school. The major differences appear to be more sex-related than related to ethnic origins.

Approximately one-quarter of all respondents left school part-way through a year which may indicate either a desire to go on with school which is frustrated, or a degree of parental or peer

Table 5.15: **Pressure on the respondent to continue with further study or to leave school and go to work from mothers, fathers, teachers and themselves (1980–81 survey)**

	Mothers		*Fathers*		*Teachers*		*Themselves*	
Attitude to study/work	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Greek Males								
Strong encouragement to continue study	41	77	34	64	9	17	8	15
Did not care	-	-	-	-	13	25	7	13
Said it was his decision	10	19	12	23	10	19	2	4
Encouragement to go to work	1	2	2	4	6	11	14	27
Encouragement to leave school	-	-	-	-	1	2	15	29
Attitude not known or not clear	1	2	5	9	14	26	6	12
Total	53	100	53	100	53	100	53	100
Greek Females								
Strong encouragement to continue study	36	62	36	62	22	38	13	22
Did not care	1	2	3	5	8	14	1	2
Said it was her decision	17	29	14	24	6	10	3	5
Encouragement to go to work	3	5	3	5	9	15	25	44
Encouragement to leave school	1	2	-	-	1	2	13	22
Attitude not known or not clear	-	-	2	4	12	21	3	5
Total	58	100	58	100	58	100	58	100
Italian Males								
Strong encouragement to continue study	34	63	31	58	18	34	10	19
Did not care	1	2	1	2	2	4	-	-
Said it was his decision	11	21	11	21	9	17	7	13
Encouragement to go to work	5	10	7	13	10	19	30	56
Encouragement to leave school	-	-	-	-	2	4	3	6
Attitude not known or not clear	2	4	3	6	12	22	3	6
Total	53	100	53	100	53	100	53	100

pressure conflicting with the individual's personal wishes. Alternatively some could be tempted by employment opportunities arising part-way through the year, but very few gave this as a reason for leaving school. The Anglo-Australian females were 50 per cent more likely to leave part-way through a year than were any of the others and the Greek females were least likely to do so.

It is interesting to speculate on the degree to which the decision to leave school was made by the young people themselves and, if it was, whether it was a decision taken in the face of pressures to continue on at school. The first issue was not explored in this study but, in relation to the second, the respondents were asked to state what their mothers, fathers, teachers and they themselves wanted to do in regard to further study or work during the last few years at school. The information provided on this question is presented for each ethnic group by sex in Table 5.15. These figures reveal the strength of parental pressure towards further study with the Greek parents of both the males and females. The Italian parents are almost as encouraging in the case of their sons but very much less so in the case of their daughters. The Anglo-Australian parents are consistent with both sons and daughters but less encouraging than the Greek parents or the Italian parents in relation to their sons. It is interesting that the mothers are considerably more encouraging than the fathers with all groups, except for the mothers of the Italian females, where apparently they do not strongly favour higher education for their daughters.

Table 5.15: **Pressure on the respondent to continue with further study or to leave school and go to work from mothers, fathers, teachers and themselves (1980–81 survey)** *Continued*

Attitude to study/work	*Mothers* No.	*Mothers* %	*Fathers* No.	*Fathers* %	*Teachers* No.	*Teachers* %	*Themselves* No.	*Themselves* %
Italian Females								
Strong encouragement to continue study	24	33	27	37	26	35	9	12
Did not care	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	1
Said it was her decision	32	43	34	46	18	24	11	15
Encouragement to go to work	12	16	8	11	9	12	41	55
Encouragement to leave school	1	1	1	1	-	-	10	14
Attitude not known or not clear	3	4	3	4	19	26	2	3
Total	74	100	74	100	74	100	74	100
Anglo-Australian Males								
Strong encouragement to continue study	25	47	18	34	13	24	10	19
Did not care	-	-	2	4	1[illegible]	24	4	7
Said it was his decision	20	38	17	32	6	12	3	6
Encouragement to go to work	6	11	11	21	8	15	25	48
Encouragement to leave school	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
Attitude not known or not clear	2	4	5	9	12	23	7	13
No Response	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Total	53	100	53	100	53	100	53	100
Anglo-Australian Females								
Strong encouragement to continue study	25	48	19	37	33	63	10	19
Did not care	2	4	6	11	4	8	-	-
Said it was her decision	21	40	17	33	3	6	-	-
Encouragement to go to work	4	8	3	6	3	6	25	48
Encouragement to leave school	-	-	-	-	1	2	14	27
Attitude not known or not clear	-	-	7	13	8	15	3	6
Total	52	100	52	100	52	100	52	100

The Anglo-Australian parents seem to be more democratic than both groups of Greek parents and the Italian parents of the males. However, the Italian parents of the females are most democratic, although this may reflect simply low aspirations for their girls rather than a belief in the young person deciding for herself. Of course, we also cannot be sure what lies behind the Anglo-Australian findings on this particular issue.

Turning to teacher attitudes, their lack of encouragement of the Greek males may reflect what appears to be the poorer performance of the Greek males. However, the Greek males interpret the teachers' attitudes as expressing a lack of interest and concern. This situation is very similar to that of the Anglo-Australian males but quite different from that prevailing with the Italian males. Among the females it is again the Greeks who are nearly twice as likely as the Anglo-Australian females and four times as likely as the Italian females to see their teachers as lacking any interest in their future. It appears, then, that the Greeks as a whole are much more likely than the others to see their teachers as unconcerned or perhaps even negatively inclined towards them.

All of the six groups contain a majority whose personal desire during the last few years at school was to leave school. The proportion with this desire varies from a low of 55 per cent for both the Greek males and the Anglo-Australian males to a high of 75 per cent for the Anglo-Australian

Table 5.16: **Situation of friends in relation to whether they stayed at school or left and went to work (1980–81 survey)**

Situation of friends	*Greek*				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
	No.	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Most stayed on	13	25	25	43	8	15	15	20	12	22	11	21
Some stayed and some left	13	25	13	22	14	26	30	41	11	21	12	23
Most left to go to work	27	50	19	33	30	57	28	38	29	55	28	54
Other	–	–	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

females. The Greek males are the only group with a measurable number who did not care; moreover, they and the Anglo-Australian males are twice as likely as any other group to be undecided themselves about whether to continue study or to leave school.

We asked the respondents whether most of their friends had continued at school or in other full-time study, or whether they had left school to go to work. The results are shown in Table 5.16. Apart from the Greek females the great majority responded that either most or at least half of their friends had also left school to go to work.

In assessing the total school experience it is important to note the very high proportion of respondents who had been working part-time while at school. (See Table 5.17.) The figures show that the Italian males and Anglo-Australian males were most likely to have worked while at school at a rate of four in every five. The Greek females, with just over 30 per cent working, were the least likely to have worked. The most likely type of employment was sales, especially for females and labouring-factory work was the most common for the males except for the Italian males who were equally likely to work as tradesmen assistants. When asked for whom they had worked, an average of just under 20 per cent of all males said they had worked for a relative, parent or friend. These figures tend to contradict the popular myth that southern European children work more than most in businesses owned by parents and others. The proportions working are high, but they are so for all groups and in fact are lowest for the Greeks for whom the above myth is perhaps most prevalent.

5.6 Post-school training

Given that our sample constituted by definition a group of young people who had left school to enter the workforce, we were interested in knowing if they had undertaken any type of further training at all after leaving school. Table 5.18 shows the responses received.

Most likely to have undertaken further training were the Anglo-Australian males and the Italian males and least likely were the Anglo-Australian females. The Greek males were least likely of all the males to have undertaken any training, a further indication that they were either more disadvantaged or more lacking in motivation than the other groups. On the other hand, the Greek males were the most likely to continue to try to obtain Higher School Certificate. Of those who did undertake training, among the males this was mainly in the major trades, presumably mainly as apprentices and for the females it was mainly in clerical work. Small numbers of both sexes gained some training in the minor trades and very small numbers entered the minor professions (diploma courses). There were minor variations only between the ethnic groups, with the Greek males differing most from the other male groups. There were more striking differences between the sexes with the males being more likely to have undertaken training among both the Anglo-Australians and the Italians, although

Table 5.17: **Distribution of the sample according to whether they worked part-time while at school (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Work status	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Worked—usually for pay	26	49	14	24	42	79	35	47	43	81	31	60
Worked—usually without pay	3	6	4	7	2	4	1	1	–	–	3	6
Did not work	24	45	40	69	9	17	38	52	10	19	18	34
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

Table 5.18: **Distribution of the sample according to post-school training undertaken since leaving school (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
Post-school	*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
training	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
None received	25	48	27	47	21	40	41	56	17	32	33	63
Leaving or HSC Certificate	5	9	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	6	1	2
Technical trade course	16	30	–	–	20	38	–	–	24	45	–	–
Other trade course	5	9	6	10	5	9	8	11	6	11	3	6
Clerical course	–	–	23	40	1	2	21	28	1	2	11	21
Certificate diploma	1	2	2	3	5	9	2	3	1	2	3	6
University course	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Craft course	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	2
Special English	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

the Greeks showed no difference between the sexes and with both sexes being less likely to have received training than their counterparts in the other ethnic groups.

The respondents were asked also to say whether there were any courses of training which they would like to do. Some two-thirds of all groups indicated that they would like to undertake further training as Table 5.19 shows. The majority of the males in all three ethnic groups desired to train in the major trades with small numbers in the minor trades. The females also had comparable patterns desiring the minor trades followed by the minor professions in the case of the Greek and Italian females and the reverse with the Anglo-Australian females. The clerical area followed third with some 13 per cent less with the Greeks and Italians, but this area ranked equal with the minor trades in the case of the Anglo-Australian females. Small numbers of all female groups and of the Anglo-Australian males desired to obtain Leaving or HSC Certificates, but very few desired to do a university degree.

Table 5.19: **Courses of post-school training that the respondents wished to undertake (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Course friends	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
None desired	18	34	19	33	19	36	27	37	16	30	17	33
Leaving or HSC Certificate	-	-	4	7	-	-	3	4	4	7	2	4
Technical trade course	23	44	2	3	20	38	1	1	17	32	1	2
Other trade course	6	11	14	24	3	5	18	24	2	4	9	17
Clerical course	-	-	4	7	2	4	6	8	1	2	9	17
Certificate diploma	5	9	11	19	7	13	16	22	8	15	10	19
University course	-	-	3	5	2	4	1	1	1	2	2	4
Craft course	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	3	2	4	2	4
Special English	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
No reply	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	58	100	52	100

5.7 Summary

The majority of those interviewed had received the greater part of their schooling in Australia so that it was the Australian school experience which was relevant.

We found that males in all groups were more likely to have had long absences from school than were the females. Mobility between schools was, on the other hand, very limited in all groups.

In terms of school performance it was the Greeks generally and especially the Greek males, who had the worst performance. The Greek males were most likely to be early drop-outs from school and the Greek females more likely to be than the Italian females. The Greeks and Anglo-Australian males were the two groups who were least likely to reach Year 12. They were also the two groups with the worst success rates, having the highest proportions attaining a level below the Leaving Certificate and the lowest proportions passing at the Higher School Certificate level. The Greek females had the worst record among the females at the HSC level.

Despite their poor success rates the Greeks tended to be older at the time of leaving school, being more frequently aged 18 or 19 years than the others. This seemed to reflect either a desire or pressure to stay on and do well which was not realised.

Many of the respondents failed to identify anything learnt at school which was of benefit for employment purposes. Of those who did, the Greeks and Italians often identified English, the females and especially the Italians and Greeks clerical skills, the Anglo-Australian males mathematics and the males and particularly the Italian and Anglo-Australian males, identified manual skills. Learning to communicate with others was also a very important aspect of schooling. Generally speaking, those who responded positively to this question were very skills oriented.

The majority of the sample reported that their parents were satisfied with the school system, but the proportions satisfied were highest among the Anglo-Australians. All groups had some concern about discipline in schools in relation to their daughters, while the Greek parents were the only ones reported or believing that the schools discriminated against their children. Overall, it was the parents of the Greek males who were most negative about the school system.

The differences between respondents in the reasons given for leaving school were sex related rather than ethnic related. The males were more likely to have been bored and to have wanted to move into vocational training. The females were more likely to regard themselves as not clever enough or to be wanting more independence.

It was the Greek parents who were exerting the strongest pressure on their children to continue studying, while the Italian parents did so to a considerable degree in relation to their sons but not their daughters. On the whole the mothers in all groups were more likely to be supporting further study than the fathers. In their perceptions of teacher attitudes, the Greek and Anglo-Australian males were the ones most likely to have seen their teachers as disinterested. Among the females the Greeks were more likely to hold this opinion than either the Italian or Anglo-Australian females.

A large proportion were found to have worked part time while at school and the proportions were highest with the Italian and Anglo-Australian males.

The last finding of note was the high proportion wanting to do further training, in fact, some two-thirds. In terms of further training related to training already received, the Greek males were the most likely to have tried for their HSC after leaving school. Among the females, the Anglo-Australians were the least likely to have undertaken further training since leaving school.

CHAPTER 6

Experience in the workforce

6.1 Employment structure of the sample

There were two important summary questions about employment status in the questionnaire. The first had the set of coding:

1. now employed—was unemployed for less than 4 months;
2. now employed—was unemployed for 4 months or more; and
3. now unemployed.

This provided a useful indication during the fieldwork of the balance of the sample according to the extent of unemployment experienced. Ideally, to have sufficient numbers who had been exposed to unemployment it was desirable if the number in the first category balanced the sum of those in the second and third categories and, as will be seen later, a reasonable such balance was obtained overall, from the inherent structure of the sample.

The second main summary of employment status was contained in the set of questions following the work calendar (which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7) and contained the coding:

1. never been unemployed (except when at school or when on holidays);
2. never had a job since leaving school;
3. has worked but is now unemployed; and
4. now working but has been unemployed.

This question incorporates reference to past and present employment status and provides a summary indicator of the proportion of those currently employed who have never been unemployed and the proportion of those currently unemployed who have never had a job.

Using the information from these questions, the structure of the sample according to employment status for each sex and ethnic group is summarised in Table 6.1. Overall, 61.5 per cent were currently employed and had been unemployed for a total of less than four months, 19.0 per cent were employed but had experienced four or more months of unemployment and 19.5 per cent were currently unemployed. Continuous employment was relatively more common among Anglo-Australian males (87 per cent) and relatively less common among Greek males and females (50–51 per cent). Being employed after a relatively long duration of unemployment was relatively more common among Greek males and females (26–28 per cent), but was at an extremely low level among Anglo-Australian males. Current unemployment was highest among Greek and Italian females (24 per cent) followed by Greek males (21 per cent), Anglo-Australian females and Italian males (17 per cent) and, lastly, by Anglo-Australian males (11 per cent). Although the subgroup of Greek males contained a relatively higher proportion of overseas-born compared with the other ethnic groups, it was found that this did not influence their employment status distribution to any great amount, largely because the majority of these had come to Australia at a very young age.

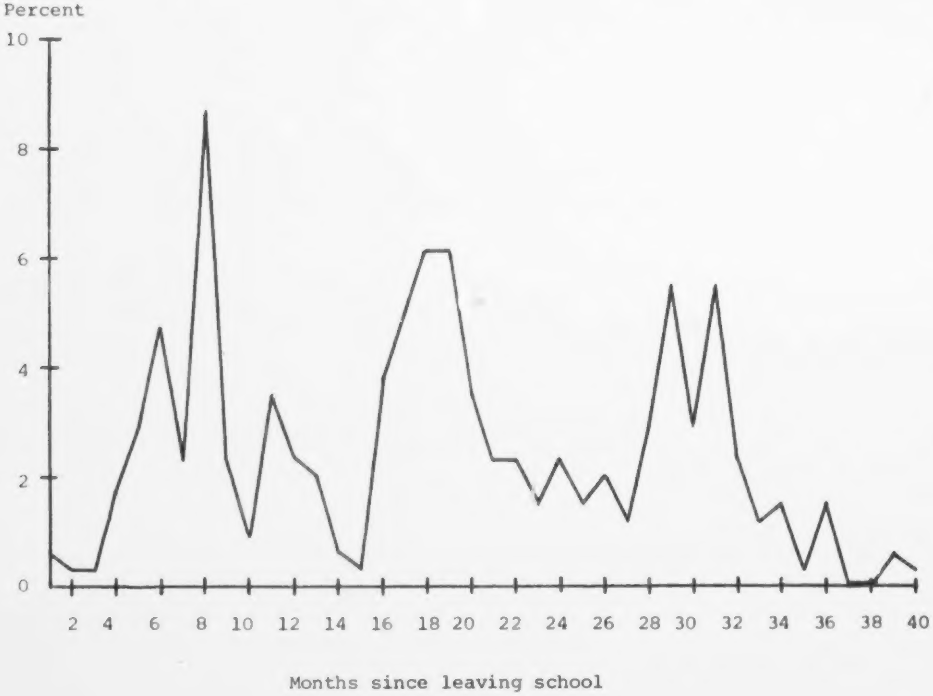
Overall, in the sample, 7.9 per cent had never had a job, 57.1 per cent had had one job only, 23.9 had had two jobs and 11.1 per cent had had three or more. Altogether, 40.2 per cent had never been unemployed, 7.9 per cent had never had a job, 11.7 per cent had worked but were now unemployed and 40.2 per cent had been unemployed but were now working (see Table 6.1). Those most likely to have never been unemployed were the Anglo-Australian males (72 per cent) and Italian males (53 per cent), while at the other extreme are Greek females with 22 per cent and Italian females with 27 per cent who have never been unemployed. Greek females also contain the highest proportion in the category 'never had a job' (16 per cent) and a low proportion of their currently employed component have never previously been employed (30 per cent), indicating that their employment more often follows the trauma of unemployment. The next most disadvantaged group on the basis of these two factors are the Italian females whose values are 11 per cent who have 'never had a job' and 36 per cent of the currently employed who have never been unemployed, followed by the Greek males whose corresponding values are 9 per cent and 43 per cent respectively. The table also shows that although Italian females, Greek females and Greek males contain the highest proportions who are currently unemployed (24, 24 and 21 per cent respectively) a low proportion of their currently unemployed have never had a job (56 per cent of Italian females, 36 per cent of Greek females and 45 per cent of Greek males) indicating that problems also exist among these with regard to staying in a job.

The last two rows of figures in Table 6.1 also give an indication of the great extent of movement in and out of employment among the school leavers. One-half of those now in paid employment had previously been unemployed (and it must be remembered that this concept of unemployed often excludes unpaid holidays immediately after leaving school and post-school courses). Furthermore 60

Table 6.1: **Distribution of the sample according to employment status, ethnic group and sex (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Characteristic	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
Now employed, was unemployed for less than 4 months	50.9	50.0	67.9	54.1	86.8	63.5
Now employed, was unemployed for 4 or more months	28.3	25.9	15.1	21.6	1.9	19.2
Now unemployed	20.8	24.1	17.0	24.3	11.3	17.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never unemployed	34.0	22.4	52.8	27.0	71.7	40.4
Never had a job	9.4	15.5	1.9	10.8	3.8	3.8
Now unemployed, but once had a job	11.3	8.6	15.1	13.5	7.5	13.5
Now employed, but has been unemployed	45.3	53.4	30.2	48.6	17.0	42.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of the employed who have never been unemployed	43	30	64	36	81	49
Proportion of the unemployed who have never had a job	45	36	89	56	67	78
n	53	58	53	74	53	52

Figure 6.1: Proportional distribution of the sample according to the number of months since leaving school (1980-81 survey)



per cent of those currently unemployed had previously had a job. Overall from Table 6.1 within each ethnic group, higher proportions of females compared with males were currently unemployed or had never had a job and lower proportions of the currently unemployed females had never been unemployed compared with males in the same ethnic group.

There is wide variation in the time elapsed between when the respondents left school and the date of the interview. As Figure 6.1 shows, there are relatively large numbers of teenagers in the sample who had left school at 6–9, 17–19 and 29–31 months before being interviewed, corresponding to those leaving school near the end of 1980, 1979 and 1978 respectively. In addition, because approximately one-quarter left school part-way through the year and because of the time-span over which the interviews were conducted (including the first part of the survey being conducted in 1980) there were also many with school-leaving durations between these peaks. Methods of realigning the data prior to analysing experience since leaving school are described in Chapter 7.

6.2 Workforce participation while still at school

Recent literature on the changing structure of the workforce in Australia has drawn attention to the unprecedented increase in the number of part time jobs, while the corresponding increase in full-time jobs has been only moderate. While married women have taken up a large proportion of these part time jobs, there has also been a growing number of school students who have been entering the part time labour market.

Accordingly, in this study of Greek and Italian school leavers, a series of questions was included to ask about part time work while still at school. (This aspect is also referred to in Chapter 4). Altogether, within the total sample 56 per cent of the teenagers had done paid work while still at school, 4 per cent had worked as unpaid helpers and the remaining 40 per cent had never worked before they left school. Such part time workforce participation varied considerably between groups. Within each ethnic group, males were more likely to have worked in this way compared with females and, across ethnic groups, Italian and Anglo-Australian males were more likely to have worked part time compared with Greek males (79–81 per cent compared with 49 per cent) and Anglo-Australian females were more likely to have worked (60 per cent) compared with Italian females (48 per cent) and Greek females (24 per cent). Unpaid work was relatively more common among Greeks and among Anglo-Australian females.

By far the majority of girls who had worked part time while at school had worked in sales occupations, while the boys were relatively evenly divided between the three groups: labouring or factory work, sales and as tradesmen's assistants, with a relatively higher proportion of the Greek boys in the first category.

Among those who had worked part time while still at school nearly one-third of the boys had worked for a relative, parent or friend compared with only one-eighth of the girls. Differences across ethnic groups indicated that there were slightly lower proportions of Anglo-Australian youth in this category (around one-fifth) compared with more than one-third of the Greek and Italian youth.

A smaller, but appreciable number of Greek and Italian teenage part time workers were working for other Greeks and Italians who were not relatives or friends—one-eighth of the Greek boys and one-fifth of the Italian boys. Overall, among part time workers at school, one-half of Greek boys and nearly two-thirds of Italian boys were working either for relatives, friends or other persons from the same ethnic group. The corresponding proportions for Greek and Italian girls are only one-fifth and 30 per cent respectively.

The proportion of Greek and Italian females who were working part time while still at school increased with each higher year of school attained. Thus while 24 per cent of these females reaching Year 10 had worked in this way, 32 per cent of those reaching Year 11 had done so and 61 per cent of those reaching Year 12. Similarly an increasing proportion of Greek and Italian females had worked with each higher level of school attained. However, there was no similar trend for Greek and Italian males.

Among Greek and Italian females, working part time while at school appeared to make no difference to whether they completed the school year or left part-way through, 20 per cent of those who worked left part-way through the year compared with 18 per cent of those who did not. (See Table 6.2) Among males, slightly higher proportions of those who worked while at school left part-way through the year compared with those who did not work (26 compared with 21 per cent). It is also of interest to note from Table 6.2 that the largest category of males in the sample are those who completed the school year and worked while at school (47 per cent) while the largest category of females are those who completed the school year and did not work while at school (48 per cent).

It was found among the females that working or not working part time while at school was related, to some extent, to the reasons for leaving school. Those who had worked part time while at school, in comparison with those who had not, were relatively less likely to give as the main reason for leaving aspirations associated with entering the workforce such as, 'wanted to earn her own money', or 'wanted to do something useful, get a job' and more likely to express dissatisfaction with school life itself, for example, 'tired of school and studying' or 'wanted to be independent'. Interestingly, relatively few of those who had worked had left school for the reason 'wasn't clever enough'. However, again, there were no such patterns observed for males.

6.3 Sources of information about jobs

One of the first and most important steps to be taken when entering the workplace is to acquire some information about what jobs are available. The respondents were asked what sort of advice they had received from teachers or careers advisers while at school about possible jobs that might be suitable and available. They were also asked about the sort of advice they had received from parents and whether they had been given help or advice from anyone else.

Almost one-third said that they had received no advice at all from teachers or careers advisers and within each ethnic group the proportions were generally higher among females than among males. Another 6 per cent had received only a little advice. For a group of about one-quarter of the respondents advice was given but it was very general and related more to presentation, interviews and writing applications than to specific jobs or specific post-school courses. Another 22 per cent had been given specific advice about a job, or had in some cases even been helped in getting a job, while another 12 per cent had been given both general advice and either advice about a specific job or especially helpful personal advice with regard to their job potential and suitable careers available. A small proportion (less than 2 per cent) had stated that they already knew what they wanted to do and so had no need of advice from teachers. In general, at least one-quarter of those in each sex and ethnic group had received advice about specific jobs or especially helpful personal advice and some groups had received more advice than others, particularly Italian males (49 per cent), Greek girls (40 per cent), Anglo-Australian females (33 per cent) and Italian females (30 per cent) (see Table 6.3). The extent of the teachers' advice seemed to be little affected by whether the respondent had worked part time while at school, left school part-way through the year, or had been encouraged to remain at school.

Advice from parents followed a slightly different pattern, since their role is rather different from that of teachers and careers advisers. Again nearly one-third of the respondents said that they had received no advice from parents and again within each ethnic group it was more often females who had received no such advice rather than males (33–40 per cent of females compared with 19–26 per cent of males). As before there was also a small proportion (3 per cent) who had received only a little advice from parents. There was also a category of approximately 18 per cent where the parents had merely expressed the 'usual parental concern' but without any specific advice or suggestions. Two additional categories emerged from the answers about advice from parents: 8 per cent of parents had told the respondent that it was his/ her own decision, often put in terms of 'something that you would be happy in' and another 5 per cent had told them to stay on at school or to continue studying but without any specific course in mind. Leaving the decision to the child seemed to be relatively more common with regard to Italian males and Anglo-Australian males and females, while instructions to continue study appeared to be slightly more common among Greek males and females and Italian males. Finally, a large group of approximately one-third of the parents had advised their son or daughter to do a specific job or training course. Within each ethnic group these proportions were

Table 6.2: **Distribution of the sample according to whether or not the respondents completed the school year and whether or not they worked part time for pay while at school (Greek and Italians only, 1980–81 survey)**

Status	*Males*		*Females*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
1. Completed, worked	50	47.2	53	29.5
2. Not completed, worked	18	17.0	10	7.6
3. Completed, did not work	26	24.5	64	48.5
4. Not completed, did not work	7	6.6	14	10.6
Worked without pay	5	4.7	5	3.8
Sum	106	100.0	132	100.0
Ratio 2/(1+2)	26.5%		20.4%	
Ratio 4/(3+4)	21.2%		18.2%	

Table 6.3: **Extent of advice about possible jobs from teachers and parents while at school, for each sex and ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Extent of advice	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
From teachers			Per cent			
None	30	34	19	39	26	39
Very little	9	–	4	8	8	10
Yes, some	30	24	22	19	38	15
Stay at school	2	–	–	4	–	4
Yes, a lot of general advice	8	16	15	8	9	17
Yes, specific job or course	19	24	34	22	17	15
Already knew what he/she wanted to do	2	–	6	–	2	–
No answer	–	2	–	–	–	–
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100
n	53	58	53	74	53	52
From parents			Per cent			
None	26	40	19	37	22	33
Very little	6	2	–	3	2	4
Yes, some	23	14	6	18	21	25
His/her own decision	–	8	15	4	11	13
Stay at school	7	7	11	1	–	6
Yes, a lot of general advice	–	–	–	1	6	4
Yes, specific job or course	38	27	49	36	36	15
Already knew what he/she wanted to do	–	–	–	–	2	–
No answer	–	2	–	–	–	–
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100
n	53	58	53	74	53	52

higher for sons than daughters and, overall, the proportions were highest for Italian males and Italian females (49 and 36 per cent compared with 38 and 28 per cent for Greek males and females and 36 and 15 per cent for Anglo-Australian males and females) (see Table 6.3).

Only about one-quarter of the respondents stated that they had received advice about jobs from other persons and most of this additional advice had come from friends, either in the form of supportive help (11 per cent) or as advice about specific jobs (11 per cent). In general, females were more likely to have received advice from friends than had males. In addition, around 3 per cent each of Greek and Italian females had received advice about jobs from teachers in post-school courses.

Within the total sample 16 per cent had received little or no advice from either the school or their parents and at the other extreme 17 per cent had received advice about specific jobs or courses from both the school and the parents. The most isolated situation existed among the 15 per cent who had received no advice from either the school, parents or friends. Within each ethnic group this was found to be more common among females (16 per cent of Greek females, 24 per cent of Italian females and 19 per cent of Anglo-Australian females) and also relatively more common among Greek males (13 per cent) compared with Italian and Anglo-Australian males (6 and 9 per cent respectively). Curiously, though, the overall proportions of those receiving no help at all showed little variation according to past and current employment status.

Some of the respondents' comments regarding the advice they had been given are revealing. For example, some of the comments about advice from teachers give an idea of the very useful and individual help that some were given:

> [Teacher] talked to him about plumbing—told him it would be hard to get into because there are so many plumbers. Teacher was a plumber himself and gave him advice about the trade.
>
> Yes, asked me about interests, told me about options open to me. Pretty helpful.
>
> School helped get my job; sent off letters asking for interviews. Had special careers section set up in the library; self and friends learned a lot about jobs through that.
>
> Careers advisers at school [told them] how to go about getting a job—two hours a week at school. To look in the paper, to ring up, to make an appointment and how to dress, speak and behave in interviews.
>
> The careers teacher showed her what sort of jobs were available, asked her what sort of job she wanted and then showed her what it was like.
>
> Talks on subjects that she was interested in, looked at marks in these subjects. Gave information on those subjects and related work.

In contrast, for some the advice was non-existent, or inadequate, or they were bewildered about choosing a career:

> I didn't discuss anything with them and they didn't give me any advice.
>
> Careers adviser would talk to him. Told him about jobs—but never the right one.
>
> Teachers talked about trades and apprenticeships but left the choice to me and I knew I could not make decisions.

While teachers and careers advisers often seemed to try to give a broad and general picture of possibilities parents' advice appeared to be more direct:

> They told me to keep on going at school. A lot of discussion—nearly fights.
>
> They wanted me to do an apprenticeship no matter what it was.
>
> Parents preferred daughter to work in the family business.
>
> Parents own a factory, so working in the factory was a logical assumption.
>
> Parents said something well-paid, not factory work.
>
> Parents suggested office work—not labouring or sales.

Sometimes it was a brother or sister whose advice proved of most value:

> Sister had an influence. She was working in a bank and enjoyed it. So he decided to try it.
>
> Advice from my sister. She said to hurry up and get a career—she always pushed me.
>
> Parents were pessimistic regarding possible jobs; thought that respondent would end up working in a factory. Brother suggested office work—had much confidence in respondent and was the main driving force in her decision to work as a typist clerk. (Her current job).

A wide range of advice was forthcoming from friends:

> Friends told of their experiences, about getting along with people in offices.
>
> Friends helped—most supportive, understanding, because they had been through it themselves.

One respondent observed that 'you need to have friends to get into a job'. In some cases friends provided advice in conflict with what the parents wished. For example, in one case there was much discussion about jobs between the respondent and her parents in which the mother particularly wanted her to do a secretarial course, but the friend suggested that she should make her own decision. In another situation the parents had advised a daughter to go on with school, but her friends had remarked that, 'You're better off going to work if you're not going to pass'.

Overall, the various sorts of advice about jobs seem to fall into the following categories:

(1) Decide on a particular career, or follow a specific career suggested by a teacher or parent and try to get a job or post-school training in that.

(2) Take any job that you can get and leave it when a better job appears.

(3) Prohibitions about taking certain undesirable jobs, such as factory jobs, poorly paid jobs, nursing, or jobs involving night shift (for girls).

(4) Assumption that the respondent will join the parent or a relative in their occupation.

(5) Advice not to leave school until the respondent has found a job.

6.4 Knowledge about ways of finding a job

Almost all of those interviewed had heard about the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) as a way of finding work and the school was a major source of this information (40 per cent). Friends also constituted a source of knowledge about this (15 per cent) while many of the respondents had said that it was everyday knowledge that the CES was a source of jobs.

In contrast less than one-third had heard of other employment agencies and in this case the main source of knowledge was from books, newspapers, magazines or television (around one-third), with another one-quarter stating business college or less often, schools and smaller proportions stating friends or parents.

Rather surprising was that so few had heard about government youth employment schemes (only one-third). Information about these was obtained largely from the CES or from the media (approximately one-quarter each) while lower proportions had gained information about this from the school or from friends. In this case, parents were seldom cited as the source of information.

Although there was relatively little known about government youth employment schemes, almost three-quarters had heard about examinations for obtaining jobs at government institutions, such as Telecom, Australia Post and other public service departments. In this case friends were the main source of information; many of the respondents said that they knew someone who had done the examination. The school was less important, while the media and parents were slightly less often given as the source of information. In addition, almost one-tenth had heard about these examinations from the CES.

The Melbourne *Age* Job Market was another source of information about jobs that was very well known. Over 90 per cent had heard of this and, of course, the main source of knowledge about this was the media, itself. The school, friends and parents also played a minor role in bringing this source to the attention of the respondents.

Some minor differences exist according to sex and ethnic group as Table 6.4 shows. More females than males knew of other employment agencies apart from the CES, some of these being secretarial and receptionist agencies. Females also seemed more likely than males to know about government youth employment schemes; however, Italian males were an exception in this respect, in that a large proportion also knew about these schemes. Males were slightly more likely to know about examinations for entry into the Commonwealth Public Service in comparison with females. Except for the CES and the Melbourne *'Age'* job market, Greek males were less likely to know about sources of employment compared with the other two groups of males in the survey. In general (with the exception of government youth employment schemes) Italian males and Italian females knew more

Table 6.4: **Proportion of the respondents in each sex and ethnic group who know about various sources of jobs (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Subject	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
CES	98	100	98	100	100	100
Other employment agencies	9	36	21	51	19	42
Youth employment schemes (government)	23	38	43	27	32	42
Exams to get into the Commonwealth Public Service	58	81	79	81	74	81
Melbourne *Age* job market	91	86	92	97	91	85

about each source of employment compared with males and females respectively, in the other ethnic groups.

6.5 Sources of information about behaving in a job and what to do if unemployed

As Table 6.5 shows, the main sources of information about relationships in a job and how to behave in a job, apart from what the young person learns from his/her own experience, are the school including careers advisers, (17.5 per cent), business colleges (which is a major source among females, 12.5 per cent and especially among Greek females, 19.0 per cent), parents, relatives and friends (with an overall value of 7.3 per cent, but with a peak value of 17.0 per cent among Italian males), co-workers and employed people (5.8 per cent, with a high value of 10.8 per cent among Italian females) and employers and personnel officers (4.7 per cent).

Table 6.5: **Sources of information about relationships in a job, and what to do if unemployed (1980-81 survey) total sample**

	Relationships in a job		*What to do when unemployed*	
Category	*Source*	*Best way to find out*	*Source*	*Best way to find out*
1. Self—own experience	43.4	29.4	16.6	12.8
2. Books, study	0.9	-	0.6	-
3. Newspapers, TV, yellow pages	0.6	-	2.0	1.7
4. Teachers, school, careers advisers	17.5	20.4	15.2	18.4
5. Business college *(a)*	6.7	2.0	2.9	0.6
6. Employers, personnel officers	4.7	9.9	0.6	0.6
7. Co-workers, employed people	5.8	15.2	0.3	0.3
8. Parents, relatives, family friends	7.3	6.4	9.0	9.6
9. Friends of same age	0.9	0.9	6.4	2.9
10. CES	1.2	1.5	17.8	30.6
11. Social workers, community leaders	0.3	-	0.3	2.0
12. Greek/Italian organisations	-	-	-	-
13. Parents and school	1.2	1.7	1.5	1.7
14. Friends and school	0.6	0.6	2.0	0.9
15. Parents and friends	0.3	2.0	2.0	2.3
16. School, friends & parents	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.9
17. Other adults, Australians	-	0.6	0.3	0.3
18. School and employed persons	1.2	2.0	-	-
19. Employers and parents	-	0.6	-	0.3
20. Other employment agencies	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.6
21. Work experience programs	2.6	0.6	-	-
22. School and CES	0.3	1.5	2.6	4.1
23. Parents and CES	-	-	1.5	0.9
24. Media and CES	-	-	1.5	2.0
25. Friends and CES	-	0.3	1.7	0.6
26. CES and multiple others	-	0.6	2.0	1.2
27. CES and other employment agencies	-	0.3	-	-
Don't know, not stated	3.[illegible]	2.6	12.3	4.7
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	343	343	343	343

(a) Not applicable to males, for females only , the corresponding percentages are 12.5, 3.8, 5.4 and 1.1 respectively.

The distribution of the answers to the question regarding the best way to find out about relationships in a job to some extent followed the pattern of answers regarding the source of such information. However, there was the attitude that a lot more of such help should come from co-workers and employed people (an increase from 5.8 to 15.2 per cent) and from employers and personnel officers (an increase from 4.7 to 9.9 per cent). There was also some increase in the proportion who thought that schools should be the source (from 17.5 to 20.4 per cent). However, there was still 29 per cent who believed that the best way to find out about relationships in a job was through their own experience.

The Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) was the main source of information about what to do if unemployed (17.8 per cent) with another 9.3 per cent who stated the CES in conjunction with another source, thus making a total of 27.1 per cent. The next major source was teachers and careers advisers at the school (15.2 per cent), followed by parents, relatives and family friends (9.0 per cent) and friends of the same age as the respondent (6.4 per cent).

The CES was a particularly important source of knowledge among the females in the survey, with proportions stating this of 15.5, 31.1 and 23.1 per cent among Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian females, compared with proportions 5.7, 18.9 and 7.5 per cent among the corresponding groups of males. If the CES and other sources are added, then the figures for females become 27.4, 36.7 and 32.6 per cent and those for males become 15.2, 22.7 and 24.5 respectively, for Greeks, Italians and Anglo-Australians.

The CES is also regarded as the best way to find out about what to do when unemployed. 30.6 per cent stated this as a single source and another 8.8 per cent stated this in conjunction with other sources, giving a total of 39.4 per cent. Again, it is the females more than the males who state the CES as the best source, with the exception of the Italian group, where the proportions are equally as high for males as for females. The next largest group is the school (18.4 per cent) with another 9.0 per cent where the school is given in combination with other sources, including the CES, while 9.6 per cent state parents, relatives or family friends.

Some of the comments accompanying the answers to these questions about learning about how to behave in a job and what to do when unemployed provide further insight into the situations of these young people and their sources of information. For example, with regard to behaving in a job some comments about where this was learnt were:

> From my father—because I work for him and he has been in the trade for 30 years.
>
> I've always been well-mannered and doing what I'm told to. I didn't need to learn.
>
> I just had to do what other people did—I found out the hard way.

The value of having a part-time job while at school is evident in the following comment:

> I picked it up from my part-time job.

With regard to advice about what to do when unemployed, the following examples provide an illustration:

> Through my sister, who has been unemployed quite often.
>
> If it happened to me I would ask my older brother.
>
> My family would always help me if I was in trouble [being unemployed].
>
> English teacher gave the entire class lessons on how to get a job.
>
> I have never really thought or worried about it. I have always had confidence in myself that I would find a job.

Some insight into the phenomenon of leaving school part-way through the year and a teenager's means of avoiding being unemployed is given by the following comments:

> I just continued full-time study until I found a job.
>
> Only choice I had was to either get a job or stay at school.

6.6 Activities of the unemployed

The main activities during the day of those who had ever been unemployed were helping parents and other relatives (39 per cent), watching television or lounging around (18 per cent), talking with friends (16 per cent) and sport, or outdoor leisure (9 per cent). Smaller proportions stated reading, hobbies, craft work, or studying as their main activity.

Females who had ever been unemployed were far more likely than males to state helping parents and other relatives as their major activity; the proportions were 50 per cent among Greek females, 54 per cent among Italian females and 39 per cent among Anglo-Australian females compared with corresponding proportions for males of 22, 14 and 20 per cent respectively. Watching television, sport and being with friends were more common among males than females within the Greek and Italian groups, but not in the Anglo-Australian group (except with regard to being with friends). On the other hand, within each ethnic group pursuits such as reading, craft work, music, hobbies and studying were relatively more common among females than males, with the exception of the Italian males, for whom the proportions slightly exceeded those of the Italian females (see Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: **Main activities while unemployed of those who have even been unemployed according to sex and ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

Activity	*No.*	*%*
1. Helping parents and other relatives, doing jobs around the house	64	34.4
2. Reading	8	4.3
3. Watching TV, lounging around	33	17.8
4. Sport, outdoor leisure, at the beach	17	9.1
5. Talking with friends	29	15.6
6. Voluntary work, working without pay	3	1.6
7. At work co-operatives or community centres	-	-
8. Craft work, painting, music etc.	5	2.7
9. Other hobbies	8	4.3
10. Studying	5	2.7
11. Helping in parents' business	3	1.6
12. Shopping	1	0.5
13. Other	10	5.4
Sum	186	100.0

Group of categories	*Greek*		*Italian*		*AnglofiAustralian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
1,11	25	48	19	46	20	32
2,8,9,10	3	15	24	21	-	10
4,5	47	20	24	8	60	26
3	19	12	19	15	10	29
Other	6	5	14	10	10	3
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100
n	32	40	21	52	10	31

A selection of comments from the females about their activities while they were unemployed were:

> Shopping, home duties.
>
> Reading, doing the housework, doing the garden.
>
> Cooking for the family, reading books, watching television.
>
> Keep up shorthand skills—doing night shorthand classess.

One interviewer commented about one of the female respondents who was currently unemployed:

> Gives the impression that she does not really mind being unemployed, because she does the housework and cooks the evening meal for the rest of the family who are working.

While the females' activities whilst unemployed appear to be largely centred around the home the males gave comments which illustrate their wider range of activities outside the home, or, in contrast, general inactivity:

> With people, checking things, learning about things and people.
>
> Studying for part-time course, going to the gym.
>
> Sleeping, hanging around, seeing some friends.

It was of interest to note that those who were unable to think of anything that they had learnt from school that was of benefit to them were also relatively more likely to state watching television and being with friends as their main activity while they were unemployed.

With such high proportions who spend much of their time watching television while unemployed, it would appear to be a worthwhile venture for the government to exploit this by providing more extensive information about sources of advice and sources of jobs for the unemployed on television.

6.7 Source of the first job

Although the questions about knowledge of sources of jobs exhibited relatively little variation according to ethnic group or sex, in contrast, the question regarding the source of the first job produced interesting variations between the different subgroups.

Overall, there had been five main ways of getting the first job. The first and most commonly stated was 'applying directly', which included responding to an advertisement in an Australian newspaper, or approaching an employer and asking for a job, often as a result of a search through the yellow pages of the telephone directory; this total group represented over one-quarter of those who had obtained a job. The next largest category was the CES and slightly less than one-quarter had obtained their first job through this organisation. The next two main sources of the first job were parents and relatives and friends and each of these two groups accounted for one-fifth of the first jobs that had been obtained. The last important source was the school and around one-tenth had obtained their first job in that way.

Sex differences in relation to the source of the first job were that males were far more likely to have gained their first job through parents and relatives compared with females (23–27 per cent compared with a maximum of 15 per cent among the females) and females were more likely to have gained their first job through newspapers and applying directly, or from the CES, compared with males.

Relatively similar proportions of males and females within each ethnic group had obtained their first job through the school and only among the Italians was there a markedly higher proportion of males compared with females who gained their first job through friends.

In more detail, there was a very low proportion of Greek girls who had gained their first job through parents or relatives (only 6 per cent compared with 14–15 per cent for Italian and Anglo-Australian girls and 23–27 per cent among the three groups of boys). However, there were quite high proportions of both Greek and Italian females who had gained their first job through the CES, 35 and 26 per cent respectively, compared with 18 per cent for Anglo-Australian girls and 16–19 per cent for the three ethnic groups of males. The main difference between the Anglo-Australian teenagers and those in the two ethnic groups was that the former were relatively less likely to gain their first job

Table 6.7: **Source of the first job among those who have ever worked, according to sex and ethnic group (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Source of first job	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
Newspapers, or other direct application	19	23	15	36	25	40
Parents, relatives	23	6	25	15	27	14
Friends	19	19	29	12	18	14
CES	17	35	19	26	16	18
School	15	10	6	11	10	8
Other	7	7	6	-	4	6
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100
n	48	49	52	66	51	50

through the CES and relatively more likely to gain it through the newspapers or other direct application (see Table 6.7).

With regard to the source of the first job in relation to working while still at school, it was found that males who had worked in this way were relatively more likely to get a job through friends and relatively less likely to have relied on the CES for the first job. Females were also relatively more likely to have gained the first job through friends or from direct application if they had worked part-time while still at school.

The extraordinary lengths to which some Greek and Italian school leavers went in an attempt to find a job are illustrated by the following statements:

> He appears to have been under a lot of pressure from his parents to 'do something' and, apparently, in desperation he started 'phoning various factories and businesses that he looked up in the telephone book and this is how he found his present job. When asked how many phone calls he would have made, he said he thought it might have been the thirtieth such call which proved lucky.
>
> He and his father drove around whenever the father had free time asking every garage in the area for a job for him. In one day he estimates they asked more than fifty garages in this way.

It was certainly not unusual for a school leaver to sort through the yellow pages of the telephone book and to telephone employers, although perhaps not always to the same extent as indicated by the first example. In some cases, the value of having worked part time while still at school was evident, as illustrated by a respondent's remarks, for example:

> Asked the boss whom I knew as a paper-boy.

Certainly, with regard to actually being given the job that one has applied for, personality seems to play a role. Some of the comments from the Greek and Italian girls indicate this:

> Never been unemployed for more than a week or two. Says all you need to do to get a job is to talk. In job interviews she tells employers what she can do for them. She's very confident in herself.
>
> Been to three interviews and each time was offered the job, even above people with better qualifications. Says this is because employers are looking for someone with personality (which she has).

6.8 Employer in the first job

Although, in relation to the other two ethnic groups, high proportions of Anglo-Australian males and females had gained their first job through parents and relatives, when the status of the employer is considered a very different situation emerges. Among those who were ever employed only 8 per cent of Anglo-Australian males and 4 per cent of Anglo-Australian females first worked for a parent, relative or friend, compared with 31 and 12 per cent of Italian males and females and2 17 and 2 per cent of Greek males and females. The clustering of the Greek and Italian labour market is even more pronounced if one also considers the proportions who were working for other Greek and Italian employers. This category is particularly important for the Greek ethnic group and if these proportions are added to the proportions working for parents, relatives and friends, the percentages whose first job was with an employer within, or known to, the ethnic group become 31 and 20 per cent for the Greek males and females and 40 and 20 per cent for the Italian males and females respectively.

Both males and females who had worked while still at school were relatively more likely to be employed by a parent, relative or friend in their first job compared with those who had not worked. It was also found that Greek and Italian males who had been working for parents, relatives or friends while at school were also likely to have their first job on leaving school with a parent, relative or friend (64 per cent). Similarly, 68 per cent of those who had worked for an Anglo-Australian employer while still at school also worked for an Anglo-Australian employer in their first job. There are too few females working for parents, relatives or friends to warrant a similar comparison.

6.9 The first job

Among the teenage males in the sample the most common occupation after first leaving school was, in order, the group metal machinist, motor mechanic, plumber (17 per cent), followed by sales (11 per cent), electricians (8 per cent), carpenters (7 per cent), factory workers (6 per cent), labourers (5 per cent), with 3 per cent each in clerical work, painting and decorating and hairdressing. Relatively more Greek and Italian males are in sales compared with Anglo-Australian males (17 and 13 per cent compared with 4 per cent). The excess Anglo-Australian males were not concentrated in any one occupation but scattered over a wide range of jobs in which Greek and Italian youth were less commonly found, such as, entertainer, gardening, bookbinding, sport and recreation and the armed services. In addition, slightly more Greek males were in labouring work and relatively fewer in clerical work compared with the other two groups.

As would be expected, the range of jobs among females is very different from that for males. The highest proportions of females are in clerical work (30 per cent), sales (22 per cent) and typing (18 per cent). Following these, there are smaller proportions who are bookkeepers or cashiers (7 per cent), hairdressers (4 per cent) and machinists in factories (4 per cent). The main differences between ethnic groups are that a very much higher proportion of Greek and Italian girls are typists in comparison with the Anglo-Australian girls (20 and 24 per cent compared with 8 per cent) and there is a very small proportion of Greek girls who are in sales occupations (only 10 per cent compared with 27 per cent of Italian girls and 26 per cent of the Anglo-Australian girls). Also, whereas none of the Anglo-Australian girls had begun work as hairdressers, several of the Greek and Italian girls had done so (see Table 6.8).

To give some further indication of the type and range of work that Greek and Italian teenagers were able to find when they left school, the following paragraphs list the first twenty jobs encountered in the interviews with each of the sex and ethnic groups.

> Greek males: driver, apprentice electrical assembler, labourer, electronic technician, motor mechanic, apprentice in electronics, factory machinist, hairdresser, panel beater, carpenter, electrical mechanic, motor mechanic, sales assistant in take-away food shop, labourer, stove repairman, stove factory, armature winder, apprentice panel beater.
>
> Italian males: motor mechanic, architectural drafter, joiner, barman, apprentice TV technician, technical assistant, apprentice carpenter, panel beater, wholesale florist, cabinet maker, apprentice auto-electrician, sales assistant, apprentice plumber, apprentice electrical mechanic, apprentice fitter and turner, building apprentice, apprentice motor mechanic, apprentice butcher, clerk, motor mechanic.

Table 6.8: **Distribution of the sample according to detailed occupational category of the first job, by sex and ethnic group (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Occupation	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Number			
0. Never had a job	5	9	1	8	2	2
5. Nurses	-	1	-	-	-	3
10. Artists, entertainers etc.	-	-	-	-	2	1
11. Draftsmen, technicians	-	-	1	-	-	-
12. Computer operators, social workers	-	1	-	-	-	-
15. Bookkeepers & cashiers	-	4	-	4	2	3
16. Stenographers & typists	-	10	-	16	-	4
17. Other clerical (incl. travel consultant)	-	17	3	18	2	14
20. Sales	8	5	7	18	2	13
21,22. Gardeners etc.	1	-	1	-	3	-
34. Drivers, road transport	1	-	1	-	-	-
38. Postal workers	1	-	-	-	-	-
41. Dressmakers, tailors, cutters	2	-	2	2	-	2
42. Leather workers	2	-	1	-	1	-
43. Metal making & treating	1	-	-	-	1	-
45. Motor mechanic, metal machinists, plumbers	7	-	11	-	8	-
46. Electricians	5	-	3	-	4	-
47. Metal & electrical production-process	2	-	1	-	3	-
48. Carpenters, cabinet makers	2	-	5	-	3	-
49. Painters and decorators	2	-	1	-	2	-
51. Printers, bookbinders	-	-	-	-	4	-
52. Potters, glass and clay	-	-	-	-	1	-
53. Bakers, butchers, food & drink	-	-	3	-	-	-
56. Paper, rubber, plastic products	1	-	-	-	-	-
57. Packers	-	2	2	-	-	1
59. Storeman	-	-	3	-	1	1
60. Labourers	6	-	-	-	1	-
61. Machinists (unspecified)	4	2	3	2	2	3
63. Housekeepers, cooks, maids	-	1	-	1	3	2
64. Waiters, bartenders	-	-	2	-	-	1
65. Caretakers, cleaners	-	-	1	-	-	-
66. Barbers, hairdressers, beauticians	3	3	1	4	1	-
67. Launderers, dry cleaners	-	-	-	-	-	2
68. Athletes, sportsmen	-	-	-	-	1	-
71. Other service, sport, recreation	-	3	-	1	2	-
72. Armed services	-	-	-	-	2	-
Sum	53	58	53	74	53	52

Anglo-Australian males: apprentice fitter and turner, apprentice plumber, bank officer, apprentice painter and decorator, commercial artist trainee, motor mechanic, mechanic, aircraft mechanic, apprentice metal worker, sales assistant, apprentice gardener, amusement machine attendant, apprentice book binder, apprentice carpenter, apprentice compositor, sales assistant, apprentice carpenter, hairdresser, bank clerk, apprentice book binder.

Greek females: factory worker, shop assistant, secretary, clerk, hairdresser assistant, clerical assistant, receptionist, cashier, secretary, junior cost clerk, bank clerk, typist-word processor, hairdresser, packer, hairdressing apprentice, child-minding assistant, pre-school mothercraft nurse, pharmacy assistant, secretary, packer.

Italian females: typist-receptionist, hairdressing apprentice, receptionist-clerk, assistant cook in take-away foods, clerk, bank teller, typist-receptionist, making jewellery, secretary, mannequin, typist-clerk, sales assistant, computer operator, typist-clerk, hairdresser, secretary, shop proprietor, insurance clerk, clerk, sales assistant.

Anglo-Australian females: dental nurse, sales assistant, invoice typist, typist, pharmacy sales assistant, sales assistant, bank clerk, office assistant, law clerk, hairdresser, dental assistant, clerk, factory machinist, factory machinist, clerk, bank officer, typist, typist, clerk, clerk.

The source of information about the first job had some bearing on the type of job obtained. Among Greek and Italian females, almost three-quarters of the first jobs obtained through Australian newspapers or the school and almost two-thirds of the jobs obtained through other direct application or through the CES were clerical or typing jobs. In contrast, relatively more of the first jobs obtained through parents and relatives were in sales or factory work, while friends as a source were more likely to lead to work in the service occupations. Greek and Italian males were relatively more likely to get a trade job through the school and then through the CES, friends, parents or relatives, in that order.

Among the combined groups of Greek and Italian school leavers those who had got their first job through parents or relatives were also likely to be working for parents or relatives and only one-third of such females and one-quarter of such males were working for employers outside their ethnic group. If the first job was obtained through the newspaper or through friends then 50–60 per cent were working for employers outside the ethnic group, while if it was obtained through the school or the CES at least three-quarters were working for Australians or other non-Greek or non-Italian employers.

Both males and females who were working in sales occupations were relatively more likely to be working for parents, relatives or friends. Males working in trades were slightly more likely to be working for other Australians and females working in clerical jobs were also more likely to be working for Australians.

Among both males and females of Greek and Italian origin the school was relatively more likely to be the source of the first job if they had completed the school year, while parents and friends were relatively more likely to be the source if they had left part-way through the school year. It was also found that males who had left part-way through were also relatively more likely to be working for parents, relatives, friends or other persons from the same ethnic group compared with those who had completed the school year.

Type of job by level of schooling

Detailed analysis of the occupational category of the first job according to level of schooling revealed the following observations.

(1) Greek males. The majority of these had attained Years 10 and 11 (24 and 43 per cent respectively, with 17 per cent in Year 12). The main differences between youths in each of these two main schooling levels was that those in Year 11 had a higher proportion who had never had a job (13.0 compared with 7.7 per cent) and a lower proportion who were in a trade (52.2 compared with 61.5 per

cent). However, the proportion in a trade peaked at these two years and was considerably lower among those who had reached only Year 9 or who had proceeded to Year 12.

(2) Italian males. These were distributed rather like the Greek males, but with a slightly higher proportion who had proceeded to Year 12 (thus the proportion from Years 10, 11 and 12 was 23, 53, 23 respectively). Again, as with the Greek males, there was a higher proportion of Year 10 leavers in a trade compared with Year 11 students (83.3 compared with 70.4 per cent and only 16.7 per cent of Year 12 students were in a trade). In addition, only Year 11 and higher level students were in the occupational categories, lower professional, clerical and sales (a particularly large group). Year 12 students were strongly represented in clerical (16.7 per cent) and sales (33.3 per cent), although there was also around 8 per cent in factory and labouring work.

(3) Anglo-Australian males. The majority of these had reached Year 11 (64 per cent) and there were 28 per cent with Year 10 level of schooling. As for the Greek and Italian males, a higher proportion of Year 10 leavers (60 per cent) were in a trade compared with Year 11 leavers (53 per cent). With a higher level of schooling there were also fewer in the service occupations and more in lower professional, clerical and sales.

(4) Greek females. In contrast to the Greek males, the majority of the Greek females had reached Year 11 or Year 12. The main differences in the occupational destination between these two levels were that the Year 12 leavers contained a lower proportion in clerical (47.1 compared with 55.2 per cent) and a higher proportion in sales (17.6 compared with 6.9 per cent).

(5) Italian females. These were distributed according to level of schooling rather like the Italian males, i.e. 24 per cent from Year 10, 53 per cent from Year 11 and 22 per cent from Year 12. The main difference in occupation patterns between these levels of schooling was that with each successive year of school there were higher proportions in clerical jobs, fewer in sales and fewer in factory jobs. However, at the same time, with each higher level of schooling there were greater proportions who had never had a job (6, 10 and 18 per cent respectively).

(6) Anglo-Australian females. These have a distribution of school levels rather like that of the Greek females, i.e. 44 per cent from Year 11 and 33 per cent from Year 12. However, their occupational change from one level to the next is unlike that for the Greek females and more like that of Italian females, in that from Year 11 to Year 12 there are more in semi-professional and clerical jobs and fewer in sales.

Overall, it would seem that among males, the trades occupations are characteristic of Year 10 leavers and to a lesser extent of Year 11 leavers, but are uncommon among Year 12 leavers. While most of the remaining group are not engaged in a trade have moved into clerical and sales occupations, some of them, particularly the Greeks and Italians, have never had a job. Therefore, in some ways, staying at school longer cuts them off from this major category of employment.

Although staying at school longer results in an increase in the proportion in lower professional and clerical occupations and a decrease in the proportion in sales for Anglo-Australians females, the other two groups of females deviate slightly from this pattern. Italian females also exhibit an increase in clerical jobs and a decrease in sales, but this is also accompanied by an increase in the proportion who have never had a job. While there is no increase in unemployment with each higher level of schooling among the Greek females, this seems to be at the expense of an increase in the proportion in sales and a decrease in the proportion in clerical occupations.

Type of job and completion of the school year

An analysis of the influence of leaving part-way through instead of completing the school year on the type of job first obtained by school leavers, according to the experience of each sex and ethnic group is discussed in the following paragraphs.

(1) Greek males. Although Greek males who left school part-way through the year were less likely to have never had a job than those who had completed the year (0 compared with 13 per cent) they were also less likely to have a trade occupation (36 per cent compared with 49 per cent) and more likely to be in a factory or labouring job (43 compared with 10 per cent).

(2) Italian males. Italian males who have left school part-way through the year follow the pattern that one would normally expect to occur, that is, a higher proportion have never had a job (8 per cent compared with zero), a smaller proportion are in trade occupations (34 compared with 62 per cent), a higher proportion are in sales (23 compared with 10 per cent) and smaller proportions in clerical occupations (zero compared with 8 per cent) in comparison with those who completed the year.

(3) Anglo-Australian males. A lower proportion of Anglo-Australian males who left school part-way through the year are in trade, factory or service occupations in comparison with those who completed the year. Curiously, however, they also contain larger proportions in the lower professional, clerical, sales and communication and transport occupations than those who completed the year. Also, like the Greek males, those who left part-way through contain a lower proportion who have never had a job than those who completed the year.

(4) Greek females. Because only 16 per cent of the Greek females in the sample had left school part-way through the year, the numbers are too small to make any meaningful comparison. However, it does seem that the proportion who have never had a job is higher among those who completed the school year, but the proportions in clerical jobs are virtually the same for the two categories.

(5) Italian females. Like the Italian males, Italian females also follow the expected pattern for their sex, namely, a higher proportion who have never had a job (20 compared with 9 per cent), a lower proportion in clerical jobs (20 compared with 59 per cent), a higher proportion in sales (47 compared with 19 per cent) and a higher proportion in factory work (7 compared with 2 per cent) among those who left school part-way through the year in comparison with those who completed the year.

(6) Anglo-Australian females. Like their male counterparts, Anglo-Australian females who have completed the school year also contain a higher proportion who have never had a job compared with those who stayed to the end of the year. Relatively fewer of the Anglo-Australian females who left school part-way through the year are in lower professional (zero compared with 12 per cent) and service occupations (5 compared with 12 per cent), but there are relatively more in clerical (47 compared with 36 per cent), sales (32 compared with 21 per cent) and factory jobs (10 compared with 3 per cent), in comparison with those who completed the year.

Overall, one could conclude that those who completed the school year are more likely to be in the better jobs than those who left part-way through, but at the same time, the probability of unemployment also seems to be higher among this group, at least within some of the sub-populations of school leavers.

Type of job and working part-time while at school

The influence of working part-time while at school was another aspect that was examined in relation to the occupational category of the school leavers in their first job after leaving school. Observed differences were as follows.

(1) Greek males. The main differences between those who did not work while at school and those who did was that the former were slightly more likely to have never had a job, less likely to be in sales or trade occupations, but more likely to be in factory or labouring jobs.

(2) Italian males. Because so few Italian males did not work while at school (17 per cent) it is not possible to make any detailed comparisons.

(3) Anglo-Australian males. Because so many of these worked while at school (81 per cent) there are too few in the 'did not work' category to make meaningful comparisons.

(4) Greek females. Considerably more of the Greek females who did not work while at school had never had a job compared with those who did work (20 per cent compared with zero) and those who did not work were also less likely to be in clerical occupations (50 compared with 64 per cent).

(5) Italian females. Italian females who did not work while at school are less likely to have obtained a clerical job in comparison with those who worked (40 compared with 63 per cent) and are more likely to be in the service occupations (13 compared with 3 per cent), factory jobs (5 compared with zero per cent), or to have never had a job (13 compared with 9 per cent).

(6) Anglo-Australian females. The observations regarding the Anglo-Australian females are rather similar to those for the Greek and Italian females. Anglo-Australian girls who did not work while at school, in comparison with those who have worked, are more likely to have never had a job (11 per cent compared with zero per cent), less likely to have obtained a clerical job (33 compared with 45 per cent), more likely to be in sales (33 compared with 19 per cent), more likely to have a factory job (17 per cent compared with zero per cent) and less likely to be in the service occupations (zero compared with 16 per cent).

A summary of the relationship between the type of job done while working parttime at school and the type of the first full-time job among the combined group of Greek and Italian males and the combined group of Greek and Italian females is given in Table 6.9. There were three major

Table 6.9: **Distribution of Greek and Italian school leavers according to their first job in relation to their parttime job while still at school (1980–81 survey)**

Work while at school	*Never had a job*	*First job* *Sales*	*Trade*	*Factory*	*Sum (a)*	*n*
			Per cent			
Males						
Did not work	12	9	48	18	100	33
Sales	-	35	30	15	100	20
Trade	-	10	52	14	100	21
Factory	7	10	70	3	100	30
Total *(b)*	6	14	53	12	100	106

Work while at school	*Never had a job*	*First job* *Clerical*	*Sales*	*Sum (c)*	*n*
		Per cent			
	Females				
Did not work	17	44	15	100	78
Sales	5	64	21	100	42
Total *(d)*	13	52	17	100	132

(a) Sum includes clerical, service, other.
(b) Including 2 'other'.
(c) Sum includes service, other.
(d) Including 12 'other'.

occupations among the Greek and Italian males while at school, sales, tradesmen's assistants and workers in factories. Of those who had worked in sales, 35 per cent remained in the sales area after leaving school and all had been employed by the survey date. Of those who worked in a trade while at school, 52 per cent were also working in a trade in their first job since leaving school, although not necessarily the same trade and all had been employed. Among those who had worked in a factory or other labouring job while at school, 70 per cent had moved into a trade and 10 per cent into sales, but 7 per cent had remained unemployed. However, this unemployment rate is still considerably lower than the rate of 12 per cent among those who did not work while at school. A similar comparison for females is of less interest because the majority of those who worked while at school were in the sales occupations. However, it is found that only 5 per cent of those who worked in sales had never had a job after leaving school and 21 per cent had remained in sales while 64 per cent had gone to clerical jobs. In comparison, there were 17 per cent who had never had a job after leaving school among those who did not have a paid job while at school.

Overall, working part time while at school appears to be associated with two important advantages. Firstly, the school leaver who worked is less likely to remain unemployed after leaving school. Secondly, the school leaver who worked also seems to have a greater chance of gaining the better jobs that are available, particularly in the case of females. However, it is of interest to note that such school leavers do not always do the same type of job when they first begin work after leaving school.

Thus, in having this double advantage, working while at school differs from the other two factors discussed, i.e., doing the Leaving certificate and completing the school year. While each of these generally improves the chances of gaining the better jobs, each also seems to be associated with a longer period of unemployment before gaining the first job. Some of the complexities associated with this initial period of unemployment are discussed further in the next chapter.

6.10 Good and bad things about the most recent job

After describing their first and their most recent jobs, the respondents were asked to state the two most important good things and the two most important bad things about the job that they were now doing. The full list of these responses is given in Tables 6.10 and 6.11. Among the good things, 'money' was mentioned most often (31 per cent), followed by the 'opportunities to meet people' (28 per cent) and 'good relationships with workmates' (23 per cent). Next came 'gaining useful experience or training' (22 per cent), 'good conditions' (11 per cent), 'mentally stimulating, interesting' (10 per cent), 'just likes doing the work', 'promotional opportunities', 'job security' and 'using skills and training'.

Relatively more females than males had stated 'money', 'opportunities to meet people', 'good conditions' and 'good relationships with workmates' among the two good things about their most recent job, while relatively more males than females had stated 'gaining experience or useful training', 'using skills and training', 'working outdoors' or 'easy' work than had females. Relatively more Italian males and Anglo-Australian males had stated that their most recent job was 'mentally stimulating, interesting', while relatively more Greek and Italian males mentioned 'gaining useful experience or training'. Considerably fewer Greek females mentioned 'opportunities to meet people', perhaps because they were often placed in protected and isolated positions in the workplace, while unusually high proportions of Anglo-Australian girls mentioned 'good relationship with workmates', perhaps reflecting the opposite situation. Finally, slightly more of the Greek males and females mentioned 'close to home' as a main advantage of the current job, compared with those in the other ethnic and sex groups.

The most often stated bad things about the most recent job were, in order, the conditions, which usually referred to long hours, short breaks etc. (15 per cent); heavy, tiring work load (13 per cent); problems with wages, including pay that was too low or was often overdue (12 per cent); and poor relationship with the boss, including several cases of alleged employer exploitation (12 per cent). Next came 'not interesting, boring' (10 per cent) and then 'dirty work', the 'locality, travel to work' and 'poor relationships with workmates', each with approximately 8 per cent. Girls were more likely

Table 6.10: **Distribution of the sample according to the stated 'good' things about the most recent job, among those who had ever worked (1980–81 survey)**

Good things	*M*	*F*	*G*	*I*	*A*
			Per cent *(a)*		
Money	27	35	29	30	35
Promotional opportunities	8	9	8	9	8
Job security	6	8	9	7	5
Good conditions	8	14	10	12	11
Provision of recreational activities	-	1	1	-	-
Mentally stimulating, interesting	12	9	9	8	14
Using skills and training	9	4	8	6	5
Gaining useful experience, or training	30	15	21	31	13
Opportunities to meet people	26	31	27	30	27
Opportunities to help people	1	4	3	2	1
Working outdoors	5	-	2	1	4
Travel	-	1	-	2	-
Good relatioonship with workmates	14	30	18	20	30
Good relationship with boss	5	4	4	4	5
Close to home	3	6	5	4	5
Likes doing the work	8	9	10	8	8
Not hard work, easy	7	3	4	4	6
Good hours	2	2	1	2	3
Clean job	3	1	3	2	-
Freedom	2	2	2	2	2
The atmosphere—high class etc.	2	2	1	3	2
Responsibility	3	3	2	3	4
Nothing	1	1	2	-	-
n	145	161	92	115	99

(a) Because the respondents were able to state up to two good things about their most recent job the percentages add to more than 100.

M = Male, F = Female, G = Greek, I = Italian, A = Anglo-Australian

to complain about 'travel' to work and 'boring' work than boys and, by the nature of their work, boys were more likely to state 'dirty work' and 'tiring work load' as some of the bad things about their most recent job.

Greeks and Italians were more likely to complain about 'tiring work load' than Anglo-Australians, however Greeks were less likely to state 'travel to work' as a problem and Anglo-Australians were relatively more likely to say that the work was boring or that they had a poor relationship with the boss.

Examples of comments about the good things relating to the most recent job from Greek and Italian males are:

> Pay's good, clean job, not very heavy, have a lot of freedom.
>
> Meeting people, learning about people, interesting.
>
> Learning a useful trade and good work mates.

While some of the comments from the girls are:

> Meeting people, security, promotional opportunities.
>
> Money, friends outside school, new experiences.
>
> Learning about society, friends, social life—grow up in a job a lot.
>
> The work is exactly what I want to do.

Table 6.11: **Distribution of the sample according to the stated 'bad' things about the most recent job, among those who had ever worked (1980–81 survey)**

Bad things	*M*	*F*	*G*	*I*	*A*
			Per cent *(a)*		
Problems with wages, not enough money	11	14	12	12	13
Insecurity	1	3	2	4	-
Conditions, e.g. no flexi-time, short lunch, long hours	18	14	14	18	13
Not using skills and training	2	1	-	2	1
Not interesting, boring	9	12	9	9	13
Not given responsibility, treated as inferior, being taken advantage of	4	6	5	8	2
Lonely, lack of workmates	2	3	1	3	3
Poor relationship with workmates	8	7	6	6	10
Poor relationship with boss	15	10	15	9	12
Outside work, weather conditions at certain times	2	1	1	2	-
Sedentary work	2	4	2	1	5
Locality, travel to work	5	10	4	11	8
No future for advancement	3	5	3	5	3
Dirty work, dangerous	14	4	9	9	7
Tiring work, hard work, work load	15	11	16	16	6
Getting up early	3	2	1	4	2
Routine and discipline, pressure	6	7	5	4	9
Unreliable, old machinery	-	1	-	1	-
Nothing bad about job	20	26	25	22	22
n	137	163	92	111	97

Because the respondents were able to state up to two bad things about their most recent job the percentages add to more than 100.
M = Male, F = Female, G = Greek, I = Italian, A = Anglo-Australian.

Some specific bad things listed about the most recent job by the Greek and Italian boys from selected comments were: no future for advancement, hassles with boss, hassles involved in working for relatives, boring work, dirty ('you have to do all the dirty things when you are a beginner'), having to deal with fussy and arrogant customers (hairdresser), routine, discipline and heavy responsibility, the pressure they put on apprentices.

Bad things about the most recent job which were mentioned by the Greek and Italian females included being treated as a junior or as an inferior, the locality, quarrels with other employees, too demanding, dealing with impatient customers, travelling problems (compounded by strikes on public transport, problems in working for friends) being taken advantage of, not being paid for overtime, long hours.

It is of interest to note that there were many instances where teenagers had been unhappy at school, or at least, very glad to leave school, but were extremely pleased and happy about the job that they were currently doing. It is somewhat reassuring to learn that failing to respond well at school is not always a barrier to subsequently gaining a job and adjusting well to the workforce. Perhaps this is best illustrated by the following statement:

> Found school experience a bit much to take generally—too demanding—wanted to get out and join the workforce. She says that so far it has been a very satisfying experience—it has given her security and a sense of belonging.

6.11 Reasons for leaving

Reasons for leaving, or for planning to leave, the first job were also asked and the full list of these reasons is given in Table 6.12. Altogether two-thirds of those who had obtained a job had left, or were planning to leave it. The main reason was 'to go to a better job' (18 per cent), followed by the closely related reason, 'didn't like the work, bored, unhappy' (13 per cent). An appreciable proportion had left because of the 'people he/she worked for', including employer exploitation (11 per cent), while a similar proportion had left because it was only a temporary job at the beginning. Finally, there were 8 per cent with each of the reasons 'retrenched', 'wanted to study or to get some further training' and 'will stay only until he/she finishes his/her training'.

An investigation of differences according to sex and ethnic group shows that relatively more Greek males and females have or will be leaving the first job compared with the other ethnic groups and, within all ethnic groups, relatively more females than males have left the first job (see Table 6.13). It is most noticeable from Table 6.13 that high proportions of females who have ever had a job have left because of circumstances outside their control, that is, they were sacked or retrenched, there was a closedown, or it was only a temporary job at the start. Among those who have ever worked the proportions leaving in this way are 29 per cent for Greek females, 18 per cent for Italian females and 18 per cent for Anglo-Australian females compared with 10, 12 and 12 per cent for the corresponding groups of males. Further analysis shows that there are relatively more males than females whose reason for leaving is pay, to go to a better job, or who intend to leave when they finish their apprenticeship training, while there are relatively more females than males who left because they

Table 6.12: **Distribution of the sample according to the reasons for leaving the first job, among those who had ever worked (1980–81 survey)**

Reason	*M*	*F*	*G*	*I*	*A*
			Percent *(a)*		
Pay	5	2	1	4	5
Distance from home to work	3	1	2	2	3
Hours too long, shift work	1	1	2	-	2
The people he/she worked for (including employer exploitation)	7	8	8	10	5
The people he/she worked with	-	2	-	2	1
Dangerous, dirty work	1	1	2	1	1
Adverse effects of work on health	1	-	1	1	-
Accident or illness	-	1	-	-	2
Other personal troubles	-	1	-	-	1
Sacked	2	3	4	1	3
Retrenched, not enough work	3	7	4	7	4
Closedown	2	2	2	2	2
Only a temporary job at the start	4	10	10	6	6
Went overseas, or on long holiday	1	2	1	3	1
Wanted to study, get some further training	6	4	7	4	5
To go to a better job, no future prospects	14	10	13	14	9
Didn't like the work, bored, unhappy	5	12	10	7	10
Transferred to unwanted position, working below skills	1	1	2	2	-
Marriage, pregnancy	-	2	1	2	-
Left—no reason indicated	2	-	3	-	-
Will stay at least until he/she finishes training	10	1	8	4	4
Will stay until he sets up his own business	1	-	-	-	1
May leave, wants a change	1	2	-	1	4
May leave, to take a trip or holiday	1	-	-	1	1
Won't be leaving	36	37	30	39	40
n	150	159	93	115	101

(a) Because the respondents were able to state up to two reasons for leaving the first job the percentages add to more than 100.
M = Male, F = Female, G = Greek, I = Italian, A = Anglo-Australian

Table 6.13: **Proportion who have never had a job, who have left or intend to leave the first job and the proportion who left because of retrenchment etc., according to each sex and ethnic group (1980-81 survey)**

Status regarding the first job	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
	Per cent					
Never had a job	9	16	2	11	4	4
Has left the first job	54	58	49	54	43	54
Intends to leave after training	11	2	9	-	9	-
May leave	-	-	2	1	6	4
Won't be leaving	26	24	38	34	38	38
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100
A. Proportion who have had a job who have left	58	69	50	61	45	56
B. Proportion who have had a job who left because they were sacked, retrenched, closedown, or were only in a temporary job	10	29	12	18	12	18
C. Ratio B/A *(a)*	18	41	23	30	26	32

(a) Ratio B/A *(a)* the proportion among those who have left the first job who left because they were sacked, retrenched etc.

were bored and unhappy in the job. Relatively few of the Anglo-Australian girls left because of employer exploitation, compared with the other females. Greek girls and Anglo-Australian girls were similar with regard to the proportions leaving because they were bored and unhappy (with higher proportions than for the Italian girls), while the proportions who left to go to a better job were highest among Greek and Italian males and Anglo-Australian females.

From further analysis it seems that in the move from the first to the most recent job Greek and Italian males tended to progress from sales and factory occupations to trade occupations and, while some Greek and Italian females moved from clerical to sales and from the 'other' category to clerical, the main movement there was from sales to clerical.

As would be expected, stated reasons for leaving the first job are related to the statements regarding 'bad' things about the job. Some specific examples of reasons for leaving are:

> Got sick of it. Uninteresting and monotonous.
>
> Didn't like the employer, but liked the job.
>
> Boss, awful conditions, smoke, noise, boring.
>
> Instead of learning the trade, they had me cleaning the factory.
>
> Didn't feel relaxed and didn't get any satisfaction from the job.
>
> Left it—not what she wanted—hindered her hunting for the real job she was after.
>
> Couldn't get on with the employer.

There were two interesting links between the reasons and circumstances associated with leaving school and the reasons for and incidence of leaving the first job. Firstly, within the combined group of Greek and Italian girls, a high proportion of those who had found that nothing they had learned at school was of any use in the workforce had never had a job and, among those who had gained a job, a higher proportion of those finding nothing useful at school had left their first job in comparison with those who had stated positive benefits of what was learned at school. Secondly, again within the combined group of Greek and Italian females, a relatively high proportion of those who had left school because they believed that they were not clever enough or because they could not cope with the school work had never gained a paid job and, among those who had worked, a relatively high proportion had left the first job, compared with those leaving school for most other reasons. However, with regard to each of these two observations there was no similar relationship among Greek and Italian males.

Trends in reasons for leaving the first job in relation to the three factors already considered, that is, passing or not passing the Leaving certificate, completing or not completing the school year and working for pay or not working while still at school were examined in relation to the experience of the combined Greek and Italian groups, separately for males and females. Because the numbers were small, it was appropriate to examine two groups of reasons: one where the respondent's reason for leaving was outside his or her control, i.e. sacked, retrenched, close-down or only a temporary job at the start and one where the respondent appeared to be leaving for personal advancement, i.e. wanted to study, or to go to a better job. For convenience, the first group of reasons will be referred to as the negative reasons and the second group will be referred to as the group of positive reasons in the discussion which follows. Among the combined group of males who had ever worked after leaving school it was found that those with the Leaving certificate were more likely to leave the first job for the set of strongly positive reasons (22 per cent) and less likely to leave for the negative reasons (9 per cent) compared with those without the Leaving certificate (for whom the corresponding values are 17 and 14 per cent respectively).

Similar but even greater differences occur when Greek and Italian males who have completed the school year are compared with those who left part-way through. In the combined ethnic group who completed the year 22 per cent left for the positive set of reasons and 9 per cent for the negative reasons, while among the Greek and Italian males who did not complete the school year the corresponding values are 15 and 15 per cent respectively. Thus, in both cases those with the better academic performance are more likely to have left the first job for strongly positive reasons and less likely to have left for the negative reasons.

However, the pattern differs when those who worked for pay while still at school are compared with those who did not. There were higher proportions in both groups of reasons among those who had not worked for pay while at school - 21 per cent leaving for negative reasons and 31 per cent leaving for positive reasons, compared with 8 and 20 per cent of those who had a paid job while still at school. Perhaps one explanation for this is that those who worked while at school were more aware of the structure and possibilities of the labour market and better able to make decisions about the choice of job.

With regard to this last factor, namely working or not working for pay while still at school, the data suggest that the experience of the combined group of Greek and Italian females is fairly similar to that of the males, with the exception that much higher proportions of females with a paid job while at school had left the first job in comparison with those who did not. However, with regard to the other two factors, the experience of the Greek and Italian females follows the opposite pattern observed for males, in that the academically more successful females are more likely to leave the first job for negative reasons and less likely to leave for the positive reasons. This finding can be interpreted in two ways. Either it casts doubt on the conclusions reached regarding the experience of the males, or it means that experience in the workforce of Greek and Italian females is entirely different from that of the males. Other data from the survey tend to support the latter explanation.

6.12 Summary

Overall, the sample was relatively well-balanced between those who had experienced little or no unemployment and those who were currently unemployed or who had been unemployed for four months or more. Experience of unemployment appeared to be least among the Anglo-Australian males, increasing among the Italian males and Anglo-Australian females, followed by the Greek males and with the greatest exposure to unemployment among Greek and Italian females. It should be noted that the experience of the Greek males is partly related to their relatively high overseas-born component.

It would seem that a large proportion of teachers at the schools are providing useful and individual advice about the job market and choice of job, nevertheless some students were unable to recall being given any such advice and others found that the advice was too general rather than a specific indication of what they, personally, should do. From the responses it would appear that, with the exception of Italian males, the females in the sample rather than the males described the advice that they had been given as especially useful and directed to their specific needs. On the other hand, parents were more likely to provide direct advice to a son than to a daughter and Italian parents usually gave more specific advice than Greek parents, who in turn gave more detailed advice than Anglo-Australian parents. Supportive help from friends also played a role, particularly among females. Parents, siblings and other relatives all appeared to exert some influence both in specifying desirable and discouraging unsuitable jobs.

Italian parents also seem to be a greater source of advice about how to behave in a job, certainly in relation to their sons, in comparison with the other ethnic groups. The CES played a major role as the major source of advice about what to do when unemployed, particularly among the females in the sample and more females than males also stated that this was the best way to find out about this. Certainly, a very high proportion of each sex and ethnic group knew about the CES as a source of information about jobs. Most also knew about the Melbourne *Age* Job Market and about the examinations held regularly for school leavers wishing to get into the Public Service, but surprisingly only one-third knew about government employment schemes, indicating a serious lack of publicity about these schemes. Italian males and females both seemed relatively more well informed about the various sources of finding out about jobs than the other ethnic groups.

Sex differences appear with regard to the source of the first job after leaving school. As before, the CES emerged as relatively more important among females, particularly among the Greek and Italian females and relatively more females than males has also obtained their job by applying directly or from an advertisement in an English language newspaper, while relatively more males had been assisted by parents and relatives. Some of the school leavers had shown great initiative and extreme perseverance in their pursuit of a job. The source of jobs is also reflected in the type of employer, males being more likely to work for parents, relatives or friends than females, particularly among the Italians and Greeks. Working part time while at school, a common pattern among the males in the sample, had a far-reaching influence on employment history after leaving school. Relatively more of those who had worked while still at school appeared to obtain their first job from friends and fewer from the CES and relatively more were working for relatives or friends compared with those who did not work while at school.

While the sample of Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian male school leavers tended to work mainly in the trades area, with also relatively large proportions of Greek and Italian males in sales, Greek and Italian females were concentrated in the clerical, sales and typing occupations, with more in typing compared with Anglo-Australian females, and relatively fewer Greek than Italian females in sales.

Three factors which played a part in the employment experience after leaving school were examined, namely, level of schooling, completing the school year and working part time while at school. Staying at school to Year 11 or Year 12 to some extent reduces the probability that male school leavers will enter a trade, partly because they are entering a different job market and partly because of the age limit on apprenticeships. On the other hand, staying at school for an extra year or two generally increases the proportion of females in lower professional, clerical and sales occupations, but more so among Anglo-Australian females than among the Greek and Italian females and with no apparent reduction in the level of unemployment. While leaving part-way through the year appears to be associated with a lower rate of unemployment, at the same time it is also associated with a higher concentration in the lower status jobs. In contrast, working part time while at school, among this particular sample at least, appears to be associated with both a lower level of unemployment and a higher concentration in the higher status jobs.

The social climate of the workplace is evidently a very important aspect with regard to the 'good things' about a job, including opportunities for meeting people, having good relationships with workmates and a good relationship with the boss. So also is the pay, including an adequate level, regularity and recognition of overtime. In addition the interest of the work itself and the opportunity to gain or use experience and training are important. Working conditions, including the hours of work and the work load, were also frequently mentioned.

Greek males and females seemed relatively more likely to have left the first job compared with the other sex and ethnic groups and females more often than males seemed to have had temporary jobs or to have been retrenched. Among the females, while there are examples of school leavers with strong discontent and dislike of school who are happy and successful in the workforce, there is also the suggestion that those who could remember nothing of benefit from their schooling were more likely to have never had a job or more likely to have left their first job. Low self-esteem with regard to academic ability also seemed related to poor performance of females in the workplace.

Unemployed females appeared to be more housebound and to lead more restricted lives compared with unemployed males, being more likely to be helping around the house or busy in individual pursuits such as reading or craft work. Unemployed males on the other hand seemed to be out with friends to a greater extent.

CHAPTER 7

Durations of unemployment and continuous employment

7.1 Description of the variables

As in the previous study of Turkish and Lebanese youth a 'work calendar' was used to trace the experience of the Greek and Italian teenagers during each month since leaving school. In the case of the pretest, which was conducted during October and November 1980, experience was traced from January 1978, while for the main survey, which was conducted from April to August 1981, experience was traced from January 1979. In the few cases where a respondent had left school before these starting dates, the interviewer had also recorded this early work or unemployment experience.

For each month since the starting date the interviewer was asked to record the respondent's status according to whether he or she was at school, employed or unemployed, or some other status. The full list of codes available are given below:

1. at school;
2. at school and working part time;
3. working—full time or part time;
4. not working—unemployment benefits;
5. not working—no unemployment benefits;
6. vacation employment (used only if the respondent returned to school afterwards);
7. holidays;
8. post-school education (e.g. business college).

Originally code 1 had included both school and other educational institutions, but as the survey proceeded it was found that it was preferable to recode post-school training separately to code 8. Also with regard to 'holidays' status, it was also decided that it would be of more value if normal school holidays in December–January, May and September were changed from code 7 to code 1 (provided that the respondent was at school before and returned to school after, the holidays). Similarly, normal annual recreational leave while working in the same job was changed from code 7 to code 3. However, if the respondent took an unpaid holiday between jobs, or an extended holiday without pay during the time that he or she was employed in the same job or while changing jobs, then code 7 was retained. As will be seen later, it was quite common for respondents to state that they were having a holiday rather than that they were unemployed during the period between leaving school and starting work and sometimes between jobs and this coding was retained. If a person was doing a post-school course and working at the same time, he or she would be coded as 3 during those months.

The information tabulated in each month of the work calendar was also summarised in a series of codes on the page immediately following the calendar:

(i) total number of months since leaving school;
(ii) total number of months at work;
(iii) total number of months unemployed;
(iv) total number of months on unemployment benefits;

(v) number of months of unemployment before 1st job;

(vi) number of months of unemployment before most recent job; and

(vii) number of jobs since leaving school.

In addition, two variables were coded to provide further information about the respondents' work history:

(viii) Total number of months between leaving school and starting work. This differs from (v) in that, in addition to months of unemployment it also includes holidays (as stated by the respondent) and any post-school courses (which by definition exclude tertiary education, or post-school courses done while working full time or part time).

(ix) Number of months of continuous employment after starting the first job. Although this usually refers to the length of time in the first job, it also includes the time spent in two or more jobs if there were no breaks in between.

Two approaches have been used in the analysis of durations of unemployment and employment and movement in and out of the workforce:

(1) frequency distributions according to month since leaving school; and

(2) survival analysis.

The results of these analyses are described in the remainder of this chapter.

7.2 Frequency distributions of employment status according to month since leaving school

The month-by-month histories of each respondent in the work calendar provided a great deal of information about their movement in and out of work and in and out of post-school education since they left school. One way of capturing this wealth of data was by observing frequency distributions according to the various possible statuses during each month since leaving school. However, before doing this, the raw data had to be realigned with statuses recorded according to months 1, 2 3 etc. since leaving school, so that for each respondent the code in month x referred to their status x months since leaving school. This realignment was necessary because of the variation in the sample with regard to the year in which the teenagers had left school and with regard to whether they had left part-way through or completed the school year. In addition, since the fieldwork had proceeded over several months there was further variation in the total months elapsed between leaving school and the date of interview (see Figure 6.1).

The distribution of post-school status during each month since leaving school expressed as a proportion of the number of respondents with non-zero status for the corresponding month is represented in Figures 7.1 to 7.4.

The graphs plotted for the total sample give some indication of the overall experience among teenagers (see Figure 7.1). During the first month since leaving school only around 40 per cent immediately enter the workforce, while the rest are mainly having a 'holiday' (26 per cent), or are unemployed without benefits (22 per cent), while a few are unemployed with unemployment benefits. During the next few months the proportion who are employed increases fairly steeply, to over 70 per cent during the sixth month since leaving school and eventually to 80 per cent during the fourteenth month. Beyond the first month since leaving school the proportion having an unpaid holiday or who are unemployed without benefits decreases sharply to less than 5 per cent each of the total, while those receiving unemployment benefits increases to a maximum of around 22 per cent during the third and fourth months since leaving school, before also decreasing to around 10 per cent. During this early period another category becomes important, namely, participation in post-school education; this hovers around 8–9 per cent from the third to about the eleventh month and then becomes insignificant at the higher durations.

Figure 7.1: Proportion of school leavers who are employed, unemployed, or in other activities, according to the number of months since leaving school (1980-81 survey) total sample

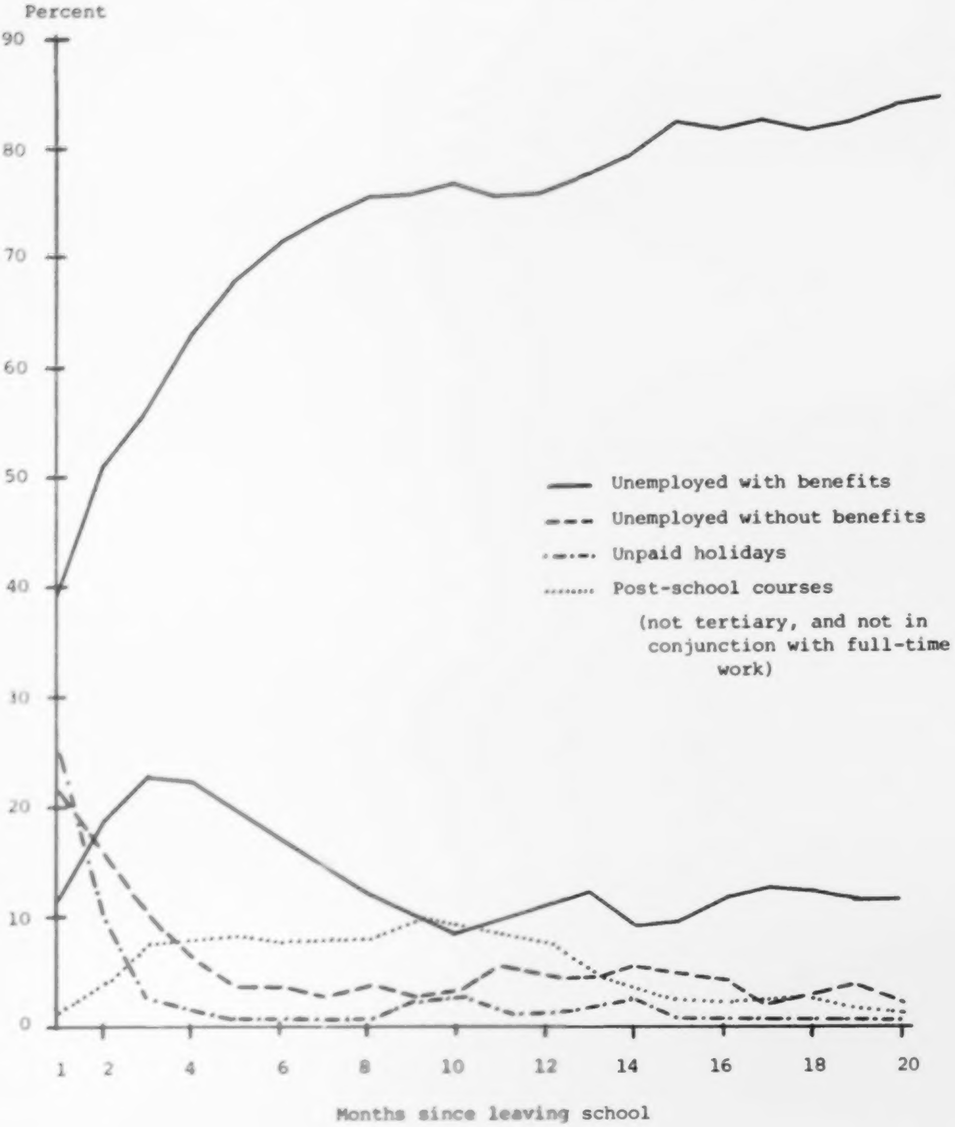


Figure 7.2: Proportion of school leavers who are employed, unemployed or in other activities according to the number of months since leaving school (1980-81 survey) males and females

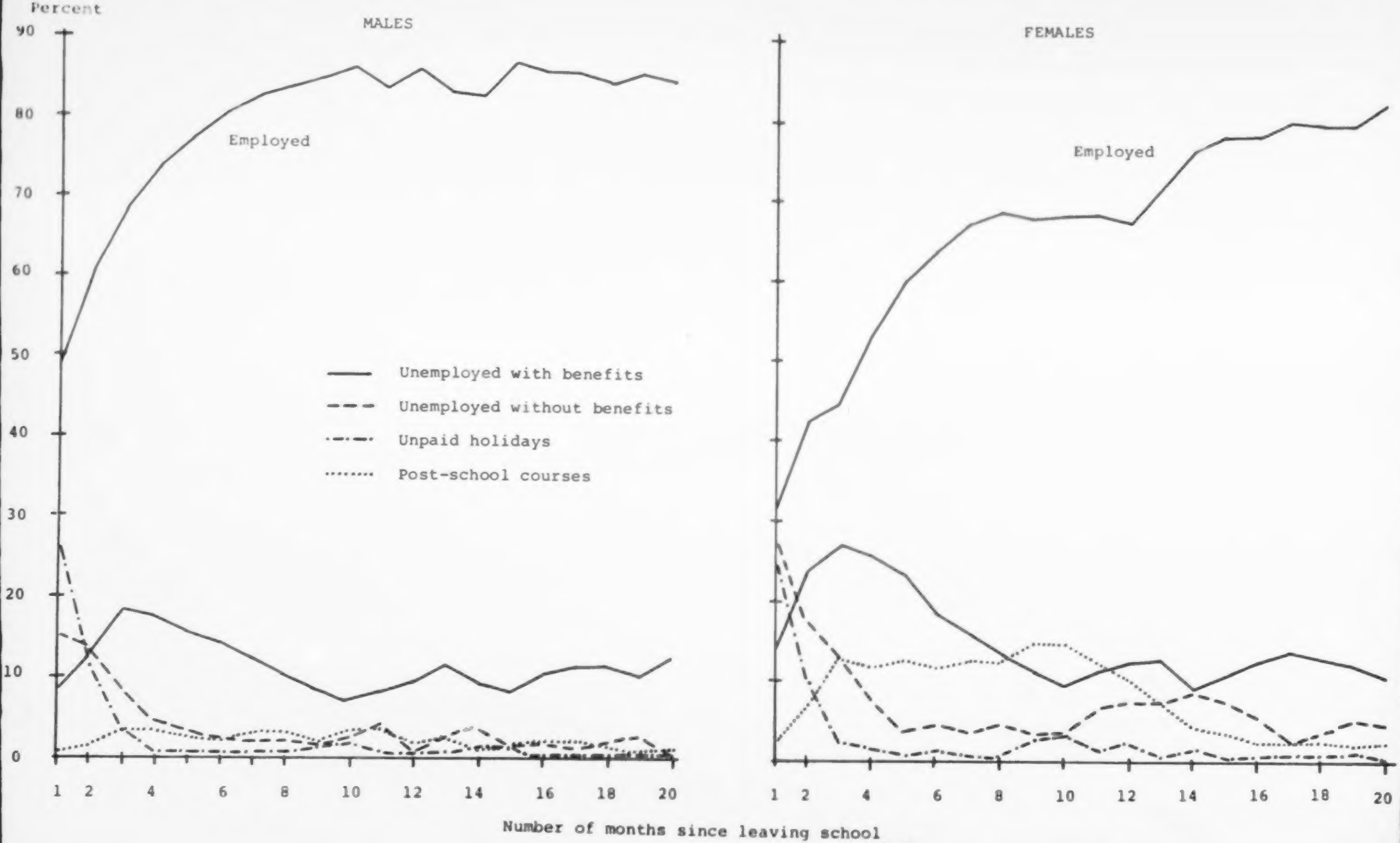


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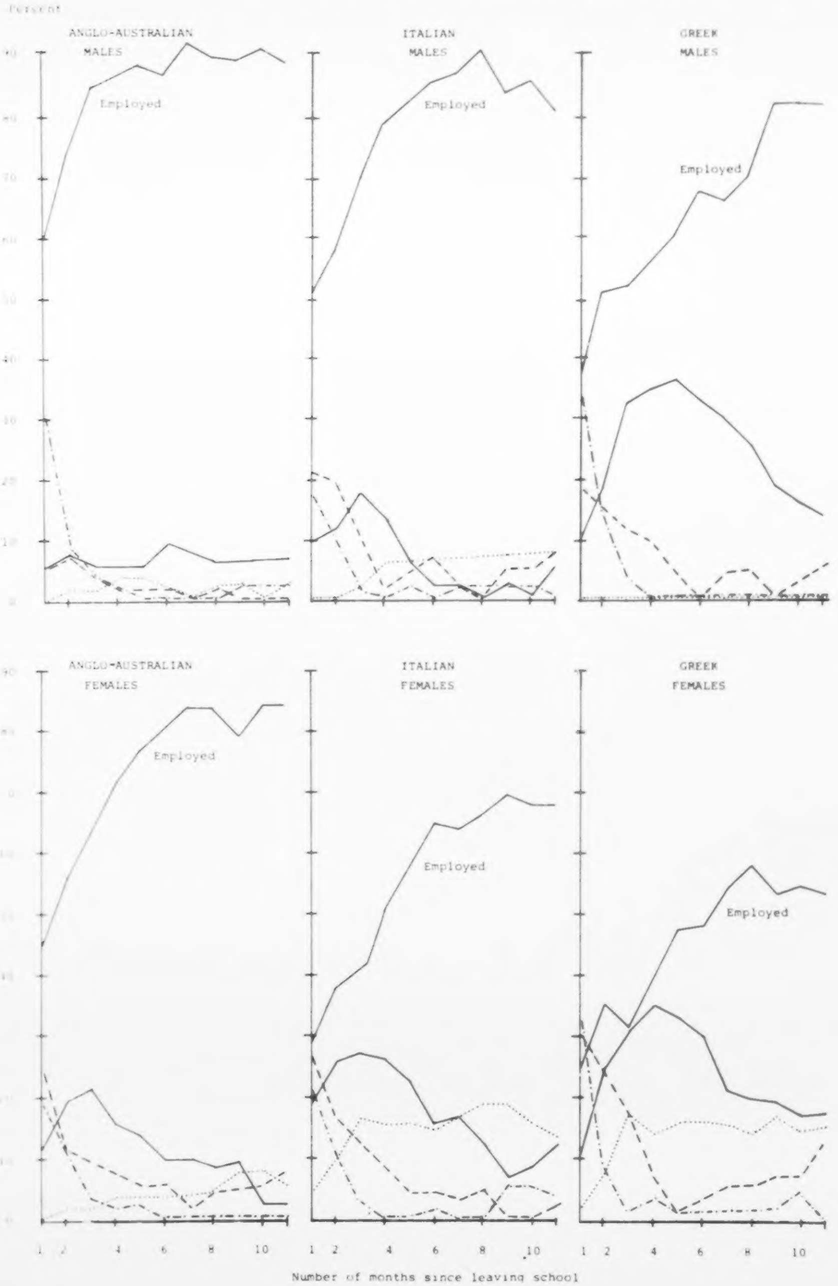
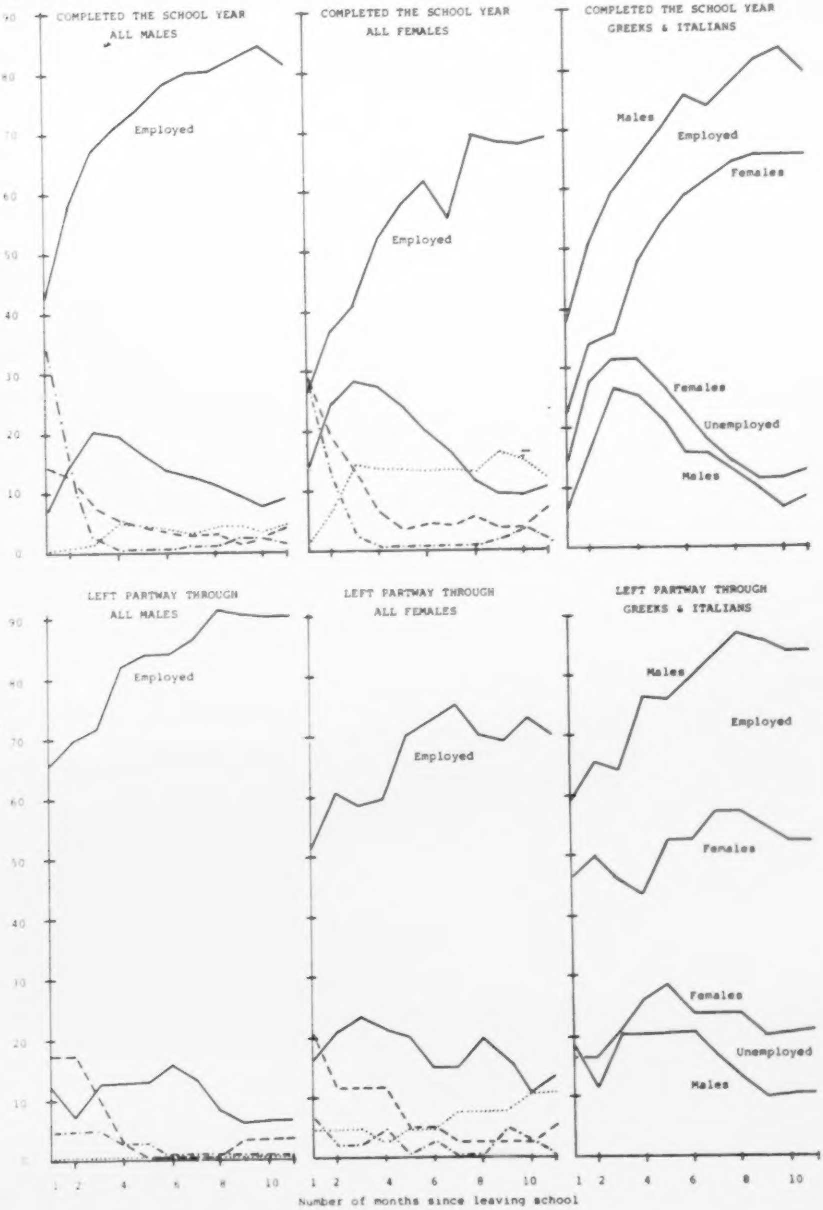
Figure 7.3: Proportion of school leavers who are employed, unemployed or in other activities, according to the number of months since leaving school, by ethnic background and sex (1980-81 survey)



(See Figure 7.1 for the legend).

Figure 7.4: Proportion of school leavers who are employed, unemployed or in other activites, according to whether they completed the school year, according to the number of months since leaving school (1980-81 survey) males, females and Greeks and Italians



(See Figure 7.1 for the legend).

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Male-female differences

Naturally, as one might expect, experience differs between males and females, as Figure 7.2 indicates. During the first month since leaving school only around 32 per cent of females are employed compared with nearly 50 per cent of males and in the third month since leaving school the proportion of females on unemployment benefits peaks at 27 per cent compared with 18 per cent for males. While similar proportions appear to take 'holidays' during the initial months since leaving school, relatively higher proportions of females are classified as unemployed and not receiving unemployment benefits compared with males. A very large difference exists with regard to the proportion in post-school courses. Among females, this climbs to over 12 per cent in the third month since leaving school and remains at or above this level until the eleventh month. In contrast, the proportion of males in post-school education never rises above 4 per cent.

Differences by sex and ethnic group

Further differences emerge when one compares post-school experience according to ethnic group and sex, as given in Figure 7.3. After leaving school, Anglo-Australian males quickly move into paid work, over 85 per cent reaching this status in the third month and around 90 per cent from the seventh month, Italian males take rather longer to reach similar but slightly lower proportions at work (i.e., 85 per cent after six months), while Greek males take considerably longer and reach the level of 80 per cent employed after nine months. Consequently the Greek males in the sample have a higher proportion who are on unemployment benefits (over 30 per cent during 4–8 months since leaving school and then eventually around 20 per cent), Italian males exhibit considerably lower levels on unemployment benefits, also with an initial peak of 10–15 per cent in the 2–4 months since leaving school, while the Anglo-Australian males show a relatively steady, low level on unemployment benefits in the region of 5–10 per cent and without an early peak as observed among the two ethnic groups. Post-school courses are important only among the Italian males (around 6–9 per cent during 4–12 months after leaving school), are non-existent among the Greek males and account for only 2–3 per cent among the Anglo-Australian males.

The female populations show further variation in patterns of experience after leaving school. In each ethnic group, there are lower proportions employed among females than among males; for example in the third month the figures for males and females are 85 and 64 per cent for Anglo-Australians, 69 and 42 per cent for Italians and 52 and 32 for Greeks. Accordingly, the peaks in proportions on unemployment benefits are also higher among females and are 21 per cent for Anglo-Australian females, 27 per cent for Italian females and 35 per cent for Greek females. While up to 8 per cent of Anglo-Australian females do post-school courses during the first year since leaving school, this proportion is small in comparison with the Greek and Italian females, where around 14–19 per cent are doing such courses from the third to the eleventh month since leaving school. It should be noted that among the Greek girls the proportion on unemployment benefits during the early months since leaving school is almost equivalent to the proportion who are employed.

Influence of leaving school part-way through the year

Further differences emerge when the influence of other factors is considered. As Figure 7.4 shows, the rate at which a school leaver obtains a job is faster if he or she leaves school part-way through the year than if he or she completes the school year. Two months after leaving school 58 per cent of males who complete the school year are employed compared with 70 per cent of those who left part-way through. The corresponding proportions for females are 37 and 60 per cent. Those who leave part-way through are also less likely to do post-school courses and are less likely to have a 'holiday' before starting work. The peak in the proportion receiving unemployment benefits, evident in the third month since leaving school among those who completed the school year, is also absent among those who left part-way through.

The same pattern occurs when the two ethnic groups are considered, as Figure 7.3 shows. Again, higher proportions of both males and females of Greek and Italian origin have begun employment in the early months since leaving school if they left part-way through the year than if they had completed the year. Unemployment rates are also initially higher among those who completed the school year; however, the data suggest that after about six months since leaving school the unemployment situation of the mid-year leavers deteriorates in comparison with those who completed the school year, particularly for girls. Therefore, the advantage of leaving school part-way through the year seems to be only short-lived.

Further analysis shows that among the combined group of Greek and Italian females who have obtained a job those who left part-way through the school year were more likely to have left the first job (80 per cent) compared with those who had completed the school year (58.5 per cent). Differences between corresponding groups of males are much smaller (69 compared with 64 per cent), suggesting that it is largely the females who are ultimately disadvantaged by leaving school before the end of the year.

Influence of obtaining the Leaving Certificate

A similar pattern occurs when the sample is subdivided according to those who have gained the Leaving certificate and those who have not. Initially those without the Leaving have a higher proportion unemployed. For example, two months after leaving school 54 per cent of males with the Leaving are employed compared with 70 per cent of those without this qualification. The corresponding proportions for females show smaller differences and are 40 and 44 per cent respectively. The differences between males tend to converge around 14 months after leaving school, while those for the females appear to converge earlier, at around six months.

Initial differences in the proportions employed between those with the Leaving and those without among the Greek and Italian males are smaller than those among all males. At two months after leaving school the proportions are 52 and 58 per cent respectively and they are even closer among the Greek and Italian females, 36 and 37 per cent respectively. Both the combined group of Greek and Italian males and the combined group of Greek and Italian females follow the same overall patterns as observed for all males and for all females respectively.

None of the males without the Leaving have done any post-school training, whereas following a low incidence immediately after leaving school, a level of around 5–6 per cent of all males and 6–7 per cent of Greek and Italian males with the Leaving are found to be doing a post-school course during the first year.

There is a higher incidence of 'holidays' immediately after leaving school among all males with the Leaving than among those without. During the second month since leaving school 17 per cent of all males and 19 per cent of Greek and Italian males with the Leaving were on 'holiday' compared with 4 per cent of all males and 2 per cent of Greek and Italian males without the Leaving. In addition, it is found that, while the incidence of 'holidays' among both males with the Leaving and those without decreases to zero after the third month, there is later an increase in the incidence of 'holidays' but only among those with the Leaving. This reaches a slight peak of around 2–3 per cent near the end of the first year.

The situation regarding post-school education and 'holidays' among the females is quite different from that observed among males. Females without the Leaving are less likely to be having a 'holiday' immediately after leaving school (7 per cent of all females and of the combined group of Greek and Italian females, compared with 12 per cent of all females and 11 per cent of Greek and Italian females with the Leaving, during the second month since leaving school), but there is a greater resurgence of 'holidays' later in the year by females without the Leaving. In addition, in contrast to males, during the first year since leaving school there are relatively high proportions of both females with the Leaving and females without it who are doing post-school courses and furthermore the proportions are higher for those without the Leaving. For example, during 4–5 months since leaving school, around 15 per cent of all females and 20 per cent of Greek and Italian females without the Leaving are doing a post-school course compared with 10 per cent of all females and 12 per cent of Greek and Italian females who have passed the Leaving. However, after about 12 months after leaving school, the positions are reversed and more females with the Leaving appear to be doing post-school courses than those without it.

Influence of working for pay while at school

Another factor influencing the pattern of experience during the first year after leaving school is whether the respondent worked part time for pay while still at school. This influence is illustrated in Figure 7.5.

Both males and females who worked for pay while still at school had a much greater probability of being employed as soon as they left school in comparison with those who did not. In the second month since leaving school the two sets of figures for males are 65 and 49 per cent and for females are 54 and 35 per cent. The proportion on unemployment benefits is also much lower for those who worked part time compared with those who did not, where the corresponding peaks for males are 32 and 12 per cent and for females are 39 and 14 per cent. From these figures, it would seem that, in terms of finding a job, the benefit of working part time while at school is relatively greater for females than for males. Unlike the patterns observed with regard to completing the school year or leaving part-way through, working or not working while still at school has relatively little effect on the proportions doing post-school courses (at least for females), or on the proportions who have a 'holiday' between leaving school and starting work. Obviously, with regard to the latter, it would seem that those who work part time while still at school are even more in need of a holiday than those who do not.

Further confirmation of the overall pattern is provided by the last set of curves in Figure 7.5. This shows that for the combined Greek and Italian sample, higher proportions of both males and females become employed after leaving school if they had worked part time during school than if they had not. Not working while at school appears to be linked with a serious long-term disadvantage among the Greek and Italian females, whose ultimate proportion employed is below 60 per cent. In contrast, while the Greek and Italian males who did not work while at school have only around 40 per cent employed 2–3 months after leaving school, the proportion eventually climbs to over 80 per cent after nine months, a level comparable to those who worked while at school (but which was attained by them after six months).

7.3 Survival analysis

The second approach to the analysis of patterns of unemployment and employment after leaving school is through the survival sub-routine on the SPSS computer program package. Originally written for the purpose of measuring the duration of survival after the onset of a given medical condition, or the duration before a relapse after treatment, the survival program can also be applied in the current situation. In this case 'survival' refers to survival in the unemployed state before the terminal event, which is gaining the first job. In the second part of the analysis 'survival' refers to remaining employed and the terminal event is losing the first job or changing jobs with a break in between.

The data collected on the work calendar for each respondent are ideally suited to analysis in this way, firstly, because of the varying periods since the respondents have left school (which influences both their duration of unemployment and their duration in their first job) and, secondly and more importantly, because many of the respondents have not experienced the terminal events, gaining the first job or becoming unemployed after gaining the first job. The program makes use of the information relating to these 'censored' cases, but takes into account the fact that they have not experienced the terminal event.

The program is based on life table analysis, frequently used in demography to study mortality patterns. From information about the number of persons exposed to risk during each month, corrected according to the number withdrawing from the sample during each month (censored cases) and from the number of terminal events occurring each month, it derives the probability of survival during each month and hence the cumulative proportions surviving to the end of each month. These are plotted on a graph to provide a survival curve. The program also conveniently calculates the median survival value for the given set of data, i.e. the duration to which one-half of the sample survives.

Of special value is the way that the program is able to compare the survival experience of two or more subgroups. Firstly, it plots the survival values for each subgroup on the same graph for visual assessment. Secondly, it provides standard errors (S.E.) of the cumulative proportions surviving to the end of each period. Thirdly, it is possible to compare the median survival times for each set of data and fourthly, the program derives an overall comparison statistic, D, which provides a summary measure of statistical significance. The value of D is derived by comparing the survival time of each individual in one subgroup with the survival time of all other individuals in the sample and adding a value of one to that individual's score if it exceeds the other value or subtracting one if it is below it. Special procedures exist for the comparison with censored cases. This is repeated for all individuals in the subgroup and a mean score is obtained. The process is then repeated for the individuals within each of the other subgroups. Finally, the value of D is derived from a formula linking the mean scores in each subgroup. The statistic D is distributed as chi-square with the number of degrees of freedom equal to the number of subgroups minus one. A large value of D therefore has a low probability of occurring by chance alone and this indicates that the subgroups are not from the same survival distribution or, in other words, that the two subgroups have statistically significant 'survival' experience. The following paragraphs describe the results from this analysis.

7.4 Duration of unemployment before the first job

The first part of the survival analysis refers to unemployment before the first job, but includes only unemployment as stated by the respondent and so excludes unpaid holidays or post-school courses which might have occurred after leaving school and before the first job. The figures corresponding to this second approach are given in the last column of the tables and are discussed in Section 7.5.

Differences by sex and ethnic group

From Table 7.1 it is apparent that females have a longer duration of survival than males, i.e. a longer period of unemployment between leaving school and gaining the first job. Median values of unemployment before the first job are 1.69 months for females and 0.76 months for males. As the analysis in the table shows, the value of D is 17.605 with 1 degree of freedom and a probability of 0.0000, indicating that the pattern of duration of unemployment before the first job of females is significantly different from that of males.

Differences by sex within each of the three birthplace groups are also shown in Table 7.1. In all cases it can be seen that females remain unemployed longer before the first job in comparison with males. However, the comparison analysis suggests that while the male–female differences within the Italian and Anglo-Australian groups are significant, they are not significantly different within the Greek subgroup.

When the analysis by sex within each ethnic group is repeated including only those who were born in Australia the levels of significance remain essentially the same. Thus, there are still significant differences between Italian males and females and between Anglo-Australian males and females, but not between Greek males and females when the 5 per cent level is used as the criterion of acceptance (see Table 7.2).

Figure 7.6 shows the variation in experience between the different birthplace subgroups separately for males and females. It is evident that within each sex group those of Greek origin have the longest period of unemployment before the first job, followed by those of Italian origin and lastly by those of Anglo-Australian origin. The median durations of unemployment increase from the lowest values of 0.59 months for Anglo-Australian males and 0.80 months for Italian males to 0.87 months for Anglo-Australian females, 1.17 months for Greek males, 1.80 months for Italian females and 2.76 months for Greek females.

Table 7.1: **Median duration of unemployment (A), and unemployment and other activities (B) of school leavers before the first job and comparison tests, according to sex and ethnic group, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

		Median duration (months)	
Category	*n*	*A*	*B*
Total	343	0.95	1.84
Male	159	0.76***	1.07***
Female	184	1.69	3.13
Greek			
Male	53	1.17	1.94*
Female	58	2.76	4.39
Italian			
Male	53	0.80**	0.95**
Female	74	1.80	3.28
Anglo-Australian			
Male	53	0.59**	0.85
Female	52	0.87	1.37
Males			
Greek	53	1.17***	1.94**
Italian	53	0.80	0.95
Anglo-Australian	53	0.59	0.85
Females			
Greek	58	2.76**	4.39**
Italian	74	1.80	3.28
Anglo-Australian	52	0.87	1.37

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

Males—paired comparisons (A): Greek and Italian p = .0458*; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0001***; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0130*.

Females—paired comparisons (A): Greek and Italian p = .1916; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0007***; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0175*.

Males—paired comparisons (B): Greek and Italian p = .0524; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0029**; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .2745.

Females—paired comparisons (B): Greek and Italian p = .2521; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0005***; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0077**.

Table 7.2: **Median duration of unemployment (A), and unemployment and other activities (B) of school leavers and comparison tests, according to sex and ethnic group, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey Australian-born population only)**

Category	*n*	*Median duration (months)*	
		A	*B*
Australian-born Greek			
Male	*24*	*0.92*	*1.80*
Female	*41*	*3.25*	*4.51*
Australian-born Italian			
Male	43	0.83*	0.98*
Female	52	1.67	3.00
Australian-born males			
Greek	24	0.92**	1.80*
Italian	43	0.83	0.98
Anglo-Australian	53	0.59	0.85
Australian-born females			
Greek	41	3.25**	4.51**
Italian	52	1.67	3.00
Anglo-Australian	52	0.87	1.37

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

Australian-born males—paired comparisons (A): Greek and Italian p = .3308; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0031**; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0095**.

Australian-born females—paired comparisons (A): Greek and Italian p = .1309; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0008***; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0342*.

Australian-born males—paired comparisons (B): Greek and Italian p = .1777; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = 0.148*; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .2037.

Australian-born females—paired comparisons (B): Greek and Italian p = .1542; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0006 ***; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0239*.

The comparison test shows that within each sex group differences in the duration of unemployment before the first job between the three birthplace groups are significant. In addition, a paired comparison test in which all possible pairs within a given sex subgroup are compared, shows that, for males, Greeks are significantly different from Anglo-Australians, Italians are significantly different from Anglo-Australians and Greeks are significantly different from Italians. Among females, Greeks and Anglo-Australians and Italians and Anglo-Australians are each significantly different from each other, but in this case the experience of unemployment before the first job is not significantly different between Greek girls and Italian girls.

When the further refinement of including only the Australian-born population is made, overall differences between the ethnic groups within each sex group remain significant, but the paired comparison test now shows significant differences only between Greeks and Anglo-Australians and between Italians and Anglo-Australians, but not between Greeks and Italians, for both sexes (see Table 7.2).

Differences by level of education

The calculation of survival values of the total sample according to the control variable, level of education, revealed no significant difference between those who had attained the Leaving certificate or higher level and those who had reached a level below the Leaving (see Figure 7.7(a) and Table 7.3). There were still no significant differences in the duration of unemployment before the first job between those with the Leaving and those without when the two sexes were analysed separately.

When the influence of having or not having the Leaving was examined separately for each ethnic group a significant difference was found only within the Anglo-Australian group, but indicating a shorter duration of unemployment before the first job among those without the Leaving.

Table 7.3: **Median duration of unemployment (A), and unemployment and other activities (B) of school leavers before the first job and comparison tests, according to level of schooling, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

		Median duration (months)	
Category	*n*	*A*	*B*
Below leaving	141	0.86	1.42
Leaving and above	202	1.17	2.26
Males			
Below leaving	69	0.72	0.88*
Leaving and above	90	0.80	1.55
Females			
Below leaving	72	1.25	3.20
Leaving and above	112	1.93	3.10
Greek			
Below leaving	45	1.37	2.25
Leaving and above	66	2.69	3.95
Italian			
Below leaving	49	1.58	2.50
Leaving and above	78	0.95	2.00
Anglo-Australian			
Below leaving	47	0.59*	0.78*
Leaving and above	58	0.83	1.56

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

Further analysis was carried out to ascertain whether a different set of indicators of educational attainment would produce survival curves which were significantly different. In this case, the variable used was the year reached at school. Median durations of unemployment before the first job among those who had attained Year 10 or less, Year 11 and Year 12 were 0.86, 0.95 and 1.38 months respectively and again there was the indication of a longer duration of unemployment among those with a higher level of schooling, but again the differences in the overall survival curves were not significant.

One further test was done, this time in relation to the influence of post-school, non-tertiary courses. With regard to the total sample, there was a longer duration of unemployment before the first job among those who had not done a post-school course (1.33 months) compared with those that had (0.88 months) and the differences between the two distributions were significant. However, the results varied when males and females were considered separately. Among males, the two corresponding durations were 0.90 and 0.70 months respectively and the survival curves were significantly different. In contrast the two corresponding durations among females were 1.83 and 1.59 months respectively and in this case there were no significant differences. One reason for these sex differences is that almost all of the post-school training done by males is in the form of apprenticeships, which, by definition, are associated with paid employment. However, the post-school training undertaken by female school leavers is usually course tuition at a secretarial college and which the student pays for. The main conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that, even when the time spent out of employment while doing a course is excluded, undertaking a post-school course in secretarial skills does not necessarily reduce the duration of unemployment before the first job.

As pointed out in the earlier parts of this chapter, it is mainly the girls without the Leaving who undertake post-school courses, at least during the first twelve months after leaving school.

Influence of completing the school year

One of the concerns of the school's teaching staff in the sample areas was the high proportion of students who left part-way during the school year. Altogether, around one-quarter of those in the sample had left school before November or December, the proportion being highest among Anglo-Australian females and lowest among Greek females. For the whole sample, there was a significant difference between the duration of unemployment of these two groups before the first job; the associated probability is 0.0175 and the median durations are 1.18 months for those who completed the school year and a shorter value of 0.76 months for those who left part-way through (see Table 7.4 and Figure 7.7(b)). Part of the explanation for this could be that those leaving part-way through were often leaving because they had already found a job, while immediate employment was less accessible to those leaving at the normal time, who possibly faced greater competitions for jobs.

When analysed separately for each sex, the differences were significant only for females. However, median duration times for males still followed the same pattern, i.e. a shorter time for those leaving part-way through the year, 0.71 months, compared with 0.79 months for others. Corresponding median duration times for females were 0.83 and 2.12 months, with a corresponding probability of 0.0416.

When analysed separately according to ethnic group, the differences are found to be significant only for Greeks. Those who completed the year had a median time of unemployment before the first job of 2.66 months compared with 0.82 months for those who had left during the year. However, as indicated on page XX, in terms of the incidence of unemployment, this advantage in leaving part-way through the year appears to be short-lived.

Influence of working for pay while at school

An analysis of the whole sample produces significant differences between those who worked part time while still at school (in paid work) and those who did not work at all. (Interestingly, the small group who worked part time without pay and who were omitted from the subsequent analysis,

Table 7.4: **Median duration of unemployment (A), and unemployment and other activities (B) of school leavers before the first job and comparison tests, according to whether they completed the school year, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

Category	*n*	*Median duration (months)*	
		A	*B*
Completed year	258	1.18*	2.28**
Left part-way	84	0.76	0.86
Males			
Completed year	118	0.79	1.44*
Left part-way	41	0.71	0.76
Females			
Completed year	140	2.12*	3.33*
Left part-way	43	0.83	0.98
Greek			
Completed year	88	2.66*	3.85*
Left part-way	23	0.82	0.88
Italian			
Completed year	98	1.20	2.40
Left part-way	28	0.93	1.00
Anglo-Australian			
Completed year	72	0.73	1.31
Left part-way	33	0.63	0.75

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level.

aligned more closely with the group who did not work at all.) The value of p is 0.0000 and the median durations of unemployment before the first job for those who worked while at school was 0.77 months and for those who did not was 2.60 months.

These differences persist when males and females are analysed separately. The median durations for males are 0.69 and 1.50 months, and those for females are 0.91 and 3.06 months respectively for those who worked and those who did not work while still at school. The corresponding probabilities are 0.0026 for males and 0.0000 for females. Evidently working while still at school in a paid job is associated with a great advantage in moving into employment after leaving school.

The differences between those who were in paid work while at school and those who were not persist when the analysis is repeated separately for each ethnic group and the differences are highly significant for each group (see Table 7.5 and Figure 7.8).

Combined influence of completing the school year and working for pay while at school

Because of the apparent importance of these two factors, completing the school year and working for pay while at school, their combined influence is considered in Table 7.6 and Figure 7.9.

When the initial duration of unemployment only is considered, differences within the total sample are significant, but significance for pairs of subgroups occurs only for those who completed the year and did not work (median 3.00), in comparison with those who completed the year and worked (median 0.80), those who left part-way and worked (median 0.70) and to a lesser extent in comparison with those who left part-way and did not work (median 0.87 months). Obviously there is an advantage associated with working, among those who completed the year and in the comparison of the two extremes, there is an advantage associated with leaving part-way and working rather than completing with no paid work. Among those not doing paid work while at school, leaving part-way has only a marginal benefit in reducing the period of unemployment before the first job.

Table 7.5: **Median duration of unemployment (A), and unemployment and other activities (B) of school leavers before the first job and comparison tests, according to whether they worked for pay while at school, based on survival analysis (1980-81 survey)**

		Median duration (months)	
Category	*n*	*A*	*B*
Worked while at school	191	0.77***	1.10***
Did not work	139	2.60	3.52
Males			
Worked while at school	111	0.69**	0.94*
Did not work	43	1.50	2.12
Females			
Worked while at school	80	0.91***	1.55***
Did not work	96	3.06	3.90
Greek			
Worked while at school	40	0.91**	1.57*
Did not work	64	3.10	3.97
Italian			
Worked while at school	77	0.86**	1.36**
Did not work	47	2.50	4.12
Anglo-Australian			
Worked while at school	74	0.65**	0.90
Did not work	28	0.93	1.50

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.
(a) Excluding those who worked without pay.

Influence of source of first job

From the survival analysis, the duration of unemployment before the first job, among those who have ever had a job, appeared to be associated with the source of the first job. The shortest duration was among those whose first job was found through the school (0.62 months), middle range durations occurred for those whose first job was found through parents, relatives or friends (0.79 months) or from newspapers or other direct application (0.89 months), while the longest duration occurred for those who eventually resorted to seeking a job through the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) (1.94 months). Differences between the two middle groups were not significant but they were significant between the school and all other groups and between the CES and all other groups (see Table 7.7 and Figure 7.10).

Another test was done to determine what effect, if any, the status of the respondent's father might have on the duration of unemployment before the first job. Fathers were grouped according to whether they were employers or self-employed, employees, or an 'other' group which included those who were retired, unemployed or deceased. There was no significant influence of the fathers' status on the duration of unemployment among females, but it did have some effect on the experience of the males in the sample. The median durations among those whose fathers were employers or self-employed were 0.64 months; whose fathers were employees, 0.76 months; and whose fathers were unemployed, retired or deceased, 1.00 month. The survival distributions were significantly different only between the subgroups father employer or self-employed and the 'other' category. It would seem that the combined effect of a father out of the workforce in contrast with a father who owns his own business is significant in the case of males.

Table 7.6: **Combined influence of completing the school year and working for pay while still at school on the duration of unemployment before the first job (A) and on the total duration between leaving school and starting the first job (B) (Median durations and comparison tests based on survival analysis, 1980–81 survey)**

		Median duration (months)	
Category	*n*	*A*	*B*
Completed year & paid work	142	0.80	1.41
Completed year & no paid work	105	3.00	3.73
Left part-way & paid work	49	0.70	0.79
Left part-way & no aid work	33	9.87***	0.97***
Paired comparisons			
Completed & paid work	142	0.80	1.41
Completed & no paid work	105	3.00***	3.373***
Completed & paid work	142	0.80	1.41
Left part-way & paid work	49	0.70	0.79*
Completed & no paid work	105	3.00	3.73
Left part-way & paid work	49	0.70***	0.79***
Completed & paid work	142	0.80	1.41
Left part-way & no paid work	33	0.87	0.97
Completed & no paid work	105	3.00	3.73
Left part-way & no paid work	33	0.87*	0.97*
Left part-way & paid work	49	0.70	0.79
Left part-way & no paid work	33	0.87	0.97

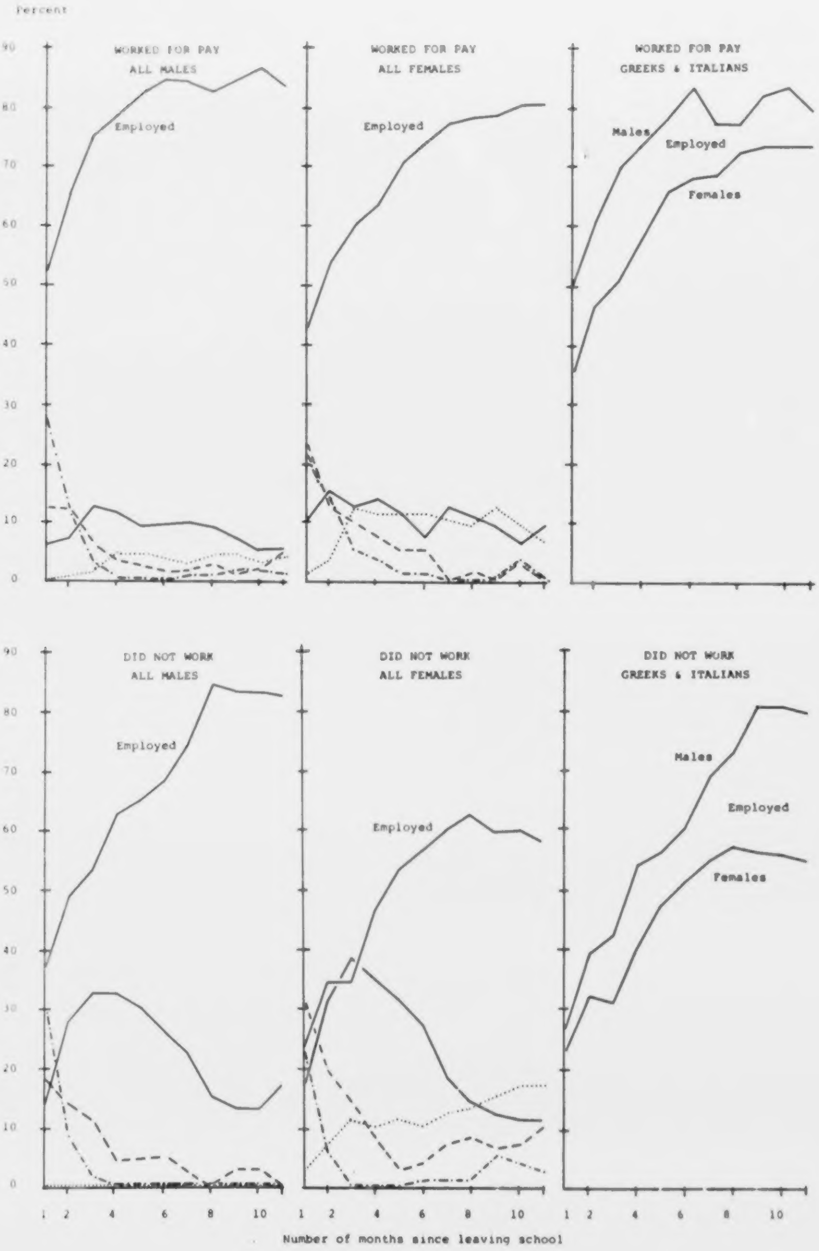
* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

Table 7.7: **Median duration of unemployment of school leavers before the first job and comparison tests, according to the source of the first job (1980–81 survey)** *(a)*

Source of the first job	*n*	*Median duration (months)*	*Probability p*
Newspapers, or applied directly	91	0.89	
Parents, relatives, friends	115	0.79	
School	31	0.62	
CES	69	1.94	.0001***
Paired comparisons			
Newspapers etc.	91	0.89	
Parents etc.	115	0.79	.4019
Newspapers etc.	91	0.89	
School	31	0.62	.0115*
Parents etc.	115	0.79	
School	31	0.62	.0479*
Newspapers etc.	91	0.89	
CES	69	1.94	.0115*
Parents etc.	115	0.79	
CES	69	1.94	.0011**
School	31	0.62	
CES	69	1.94	.0001***

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.
(a) Excluding twenty-seven who have never had a job.

Figure 7.5: Proportion of school leavers who are employed, unemployed or in other activites, according to whether they worked for pay while still at school, according to the number of months since leaving school (1980-81 survey) males and females, and Greeks and Italians



(See Figure 7.1 for the legend).

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Figure 7.6: Survival curves of school leavers relating to the number of months of unemployment before the first job, according to ethnic background and sex (1980–81 survey)

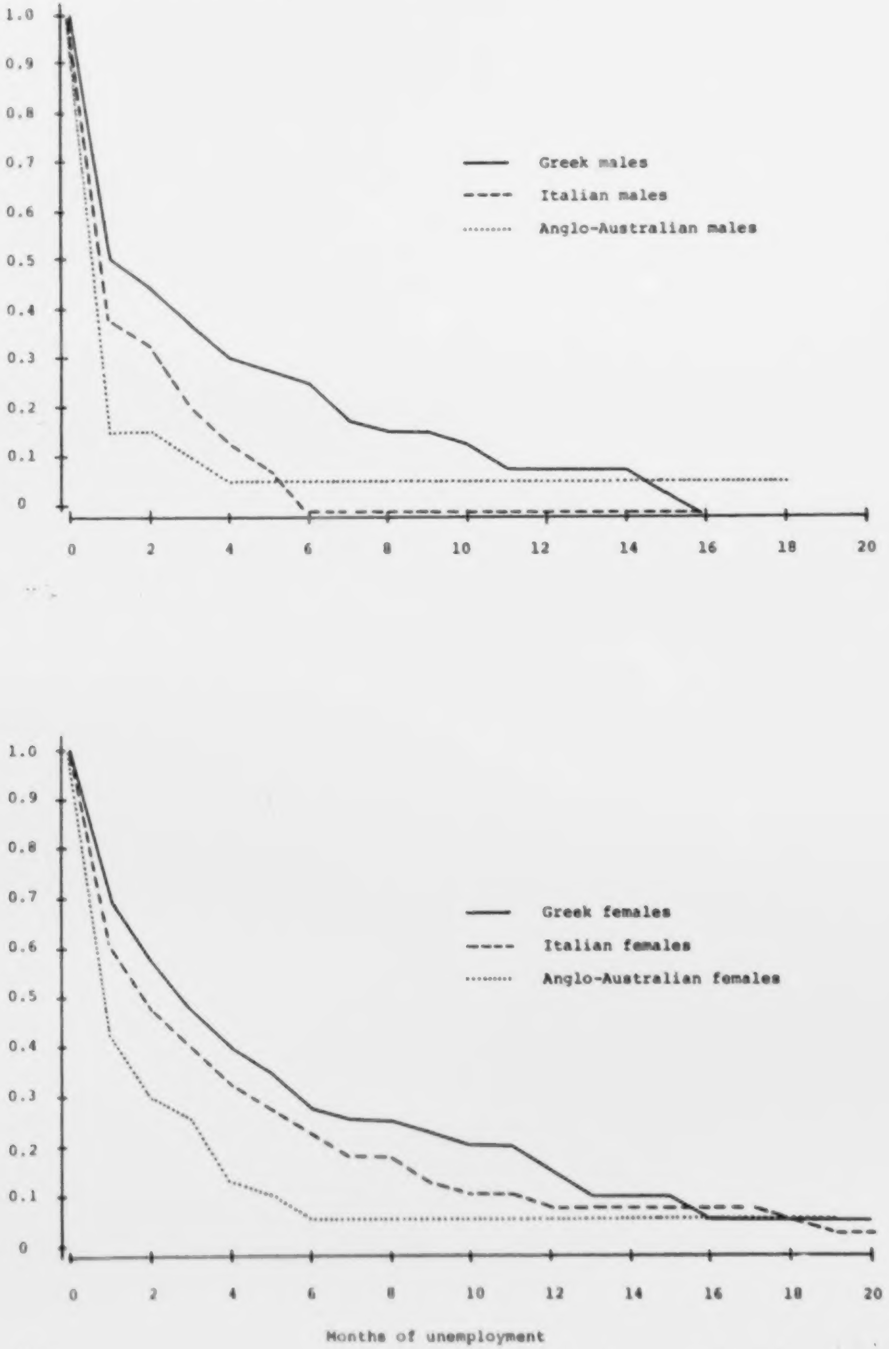

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Figure 7.7: Survival curves of male school leavers relating to the number of months of unemployment before the first job, according to whether they had (a) passed the Leaving level of schooling, and (b) completed the school year (1980-81 survey)

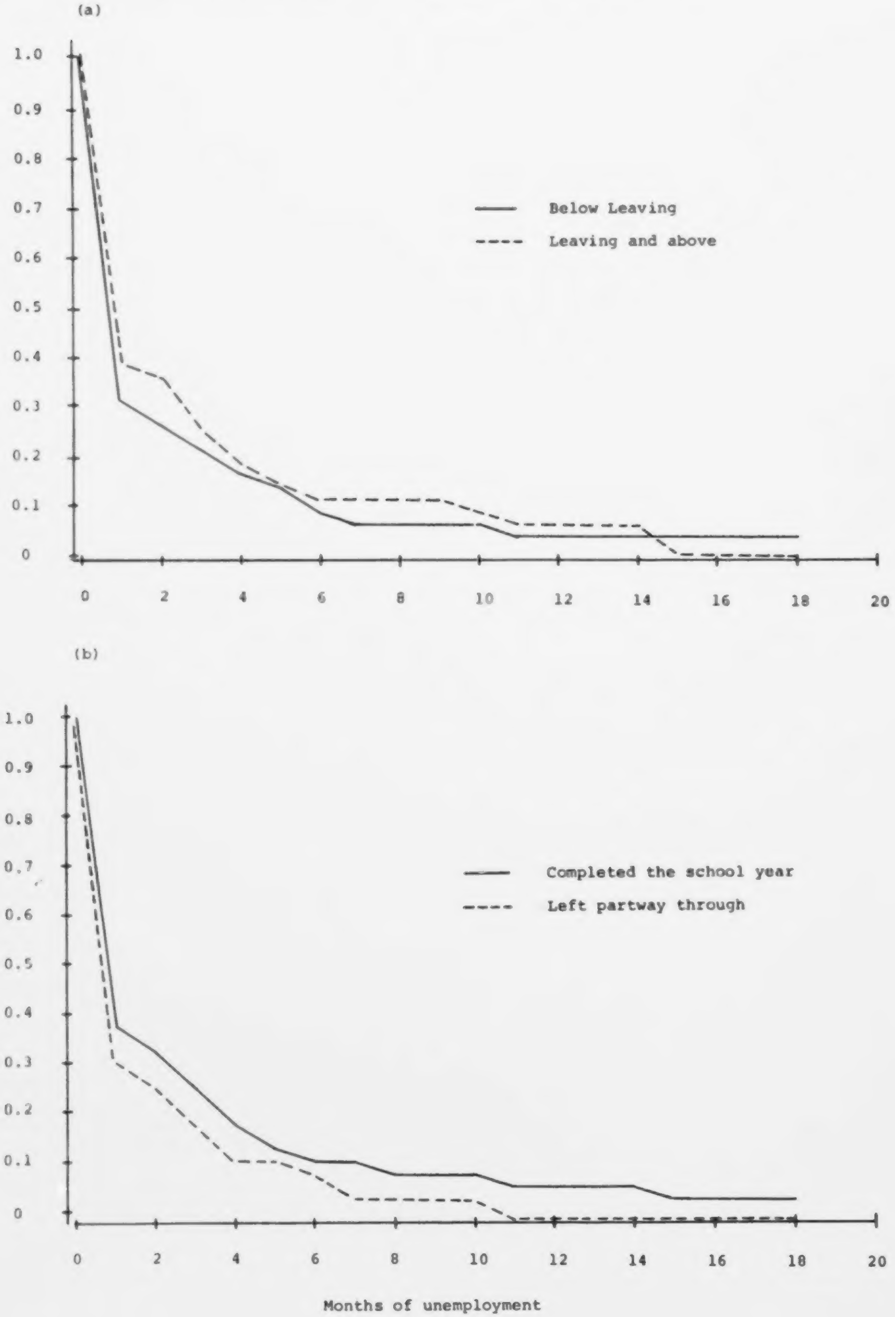

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Figure 7.8: Survival curves of school leavers relating to the number of months of unemployment before the first job, according to whether they had done paid work while still at school (1980-81 survey) (a) all males and (b) Greek males

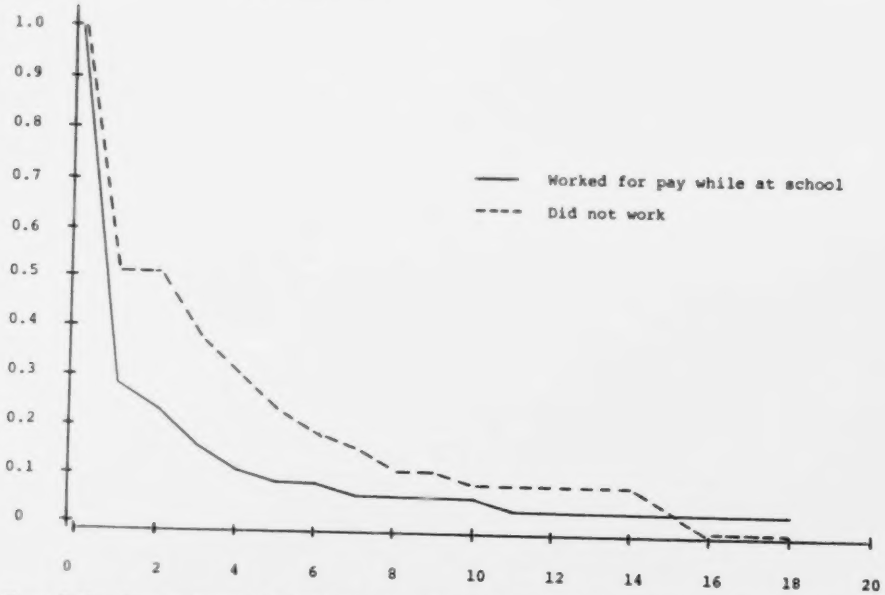

Figure 7.10: Survival curves of school leavers according to the number of monthjs of unemployment before the first job, according to the source of the first job (1980-81 survey) total sample

(b) Greek males.

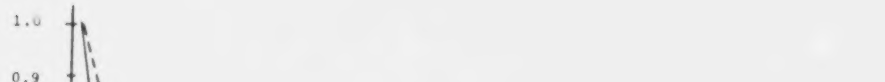

Figure 7.9: Survival curves of school leavers according to the number of months of unemployment before the first job, according to whether they had completed the schoool year and whether they had done paid work while still at school (1980-81 survey) total sample

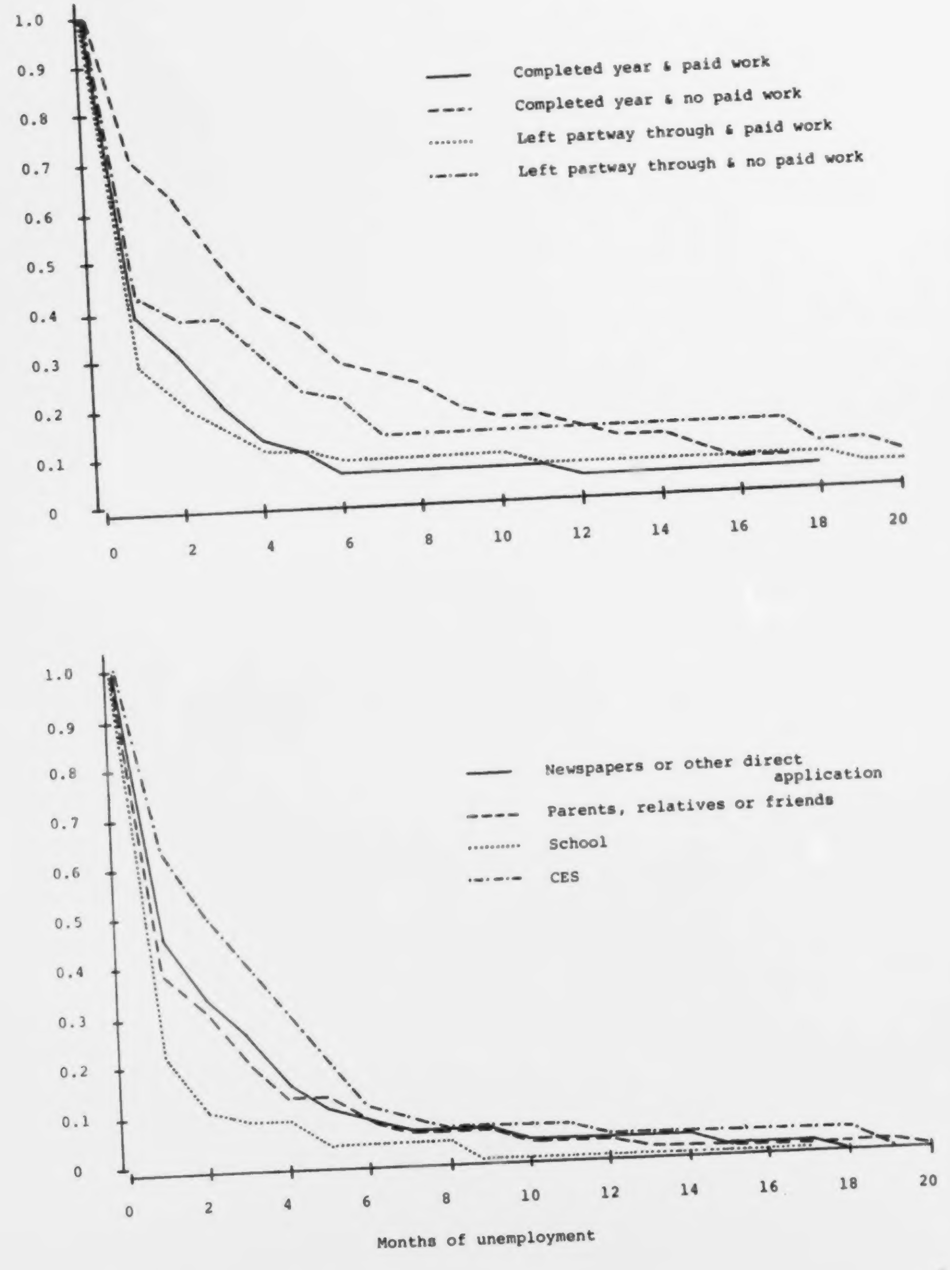

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Figure 7.11: Survival curves of school leavers according to the number of months of unemployment and total duration of unemployment and other activities before the first job (1980-81 survey) males and females

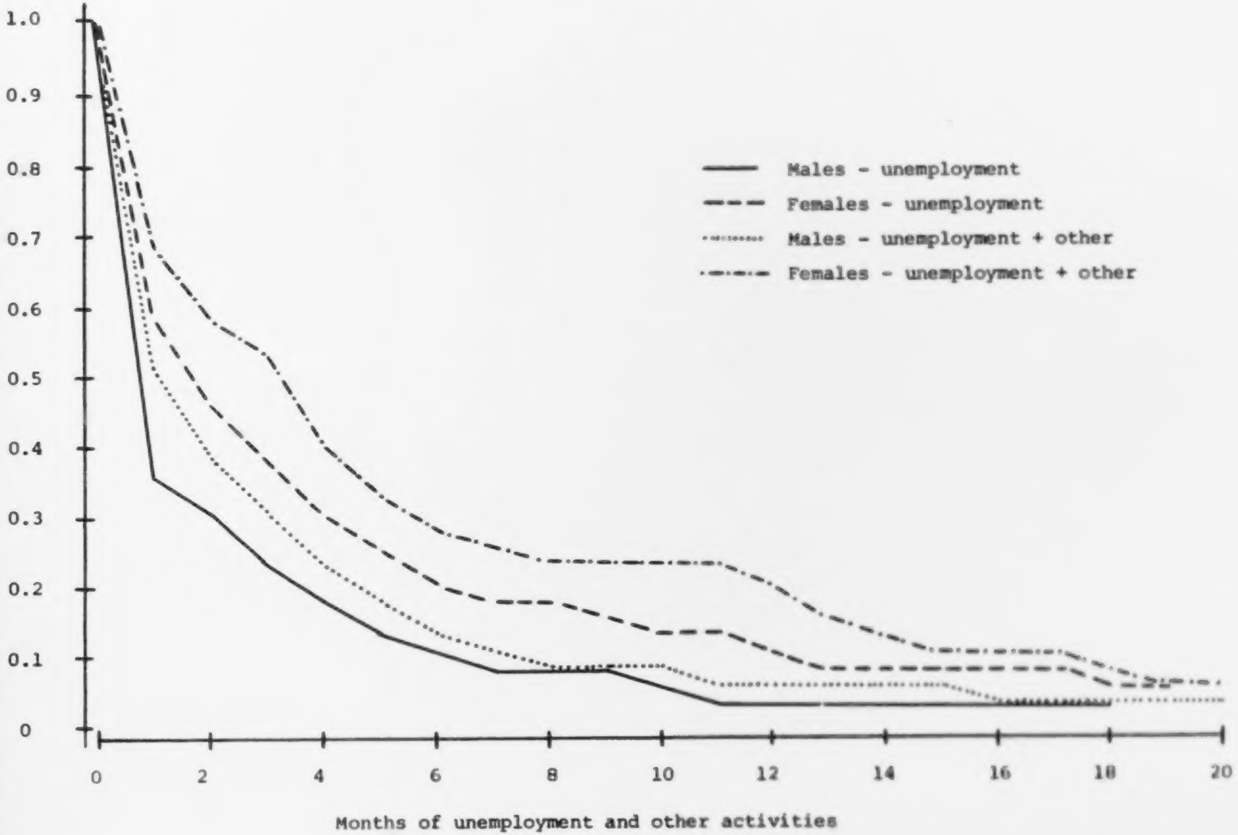

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Figure 7.12: Survival curves of males school leavers according to the number of months of unemployment and total duration of unemployment and other activities before the first job, according to whether they had (a) completed the school year, and (b) done paid work while still at school (1980-81 survey)

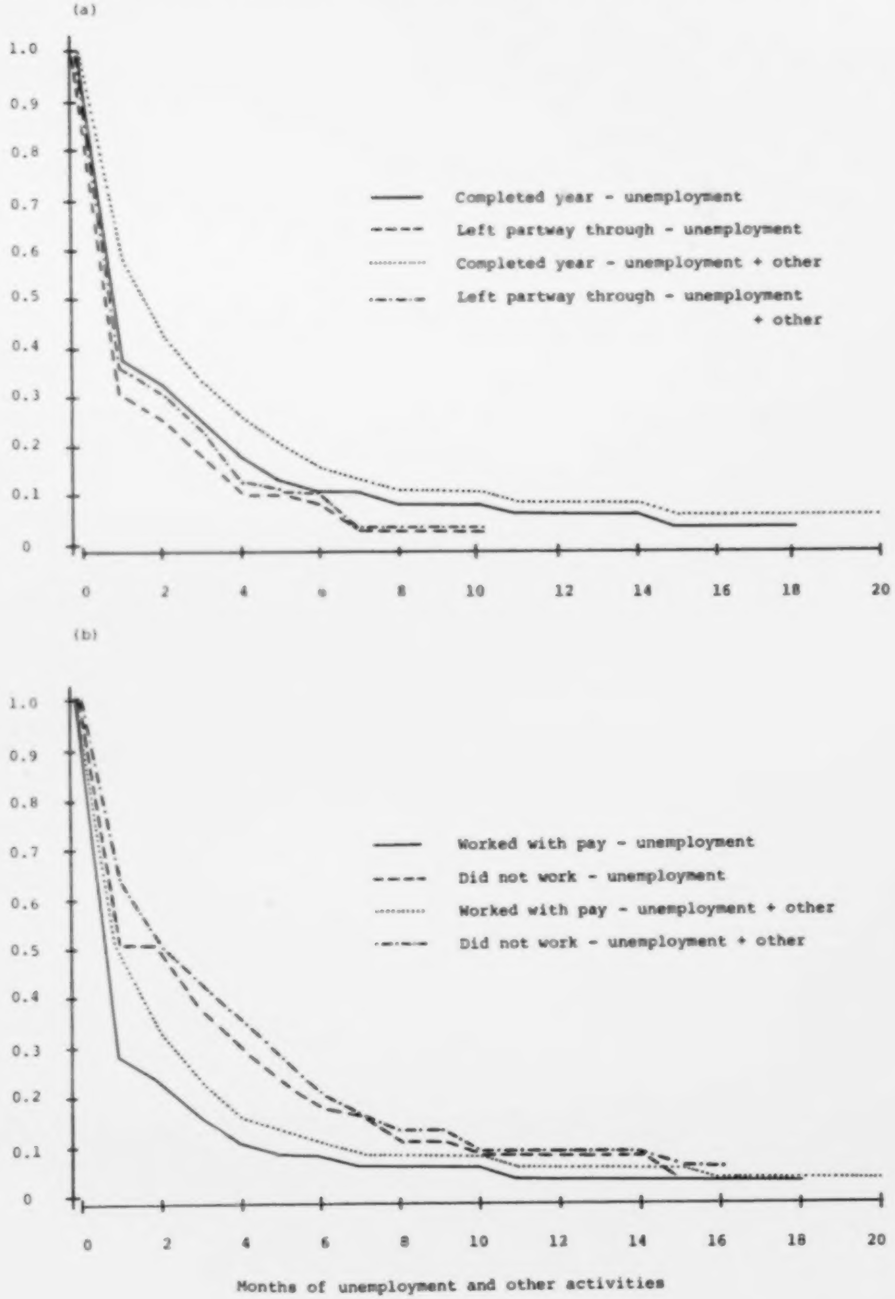

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Figure 7.13: Survival curves of male school leavers relating to the duration of continuous employment since the start of the first job, according to ethnic background and sex (1980&81 survey)

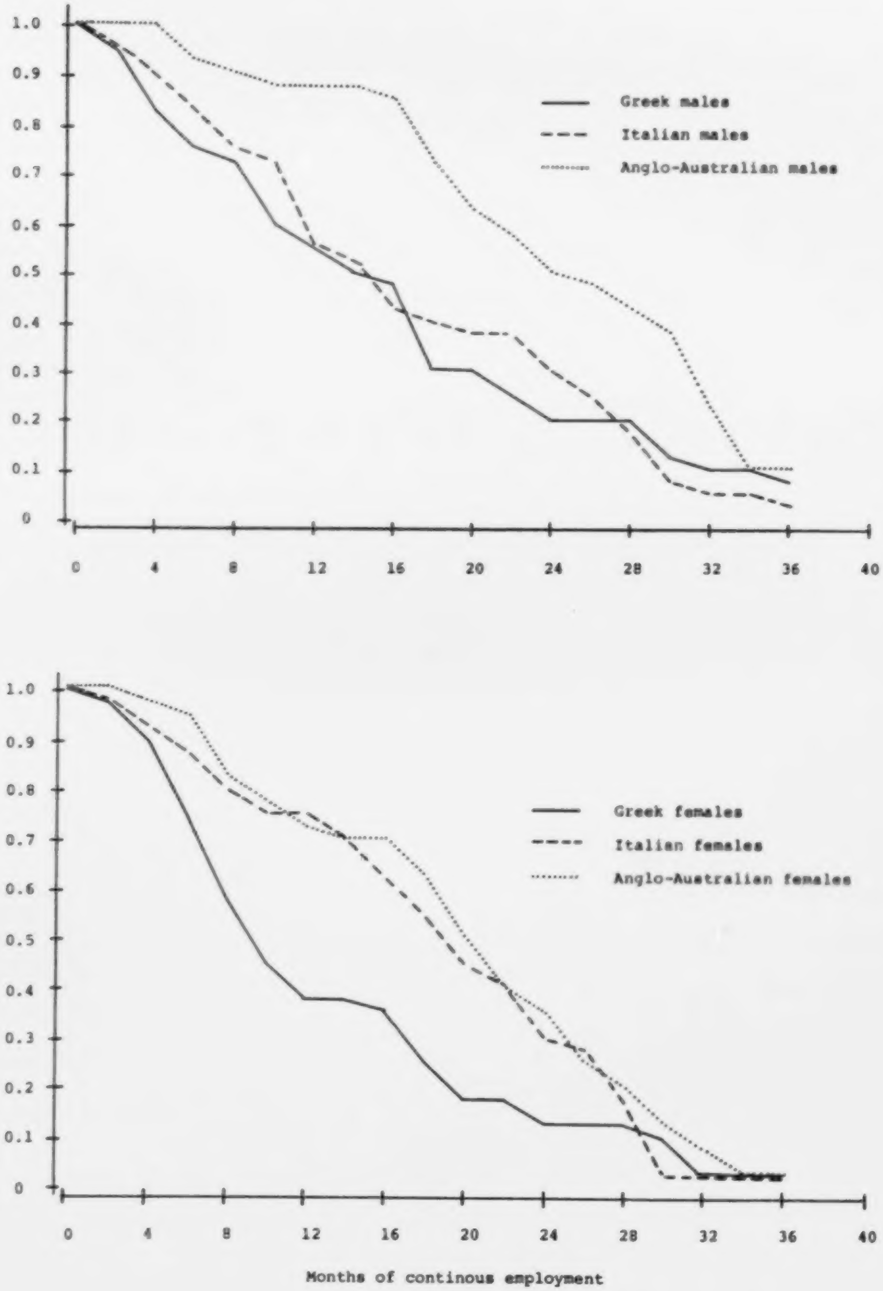

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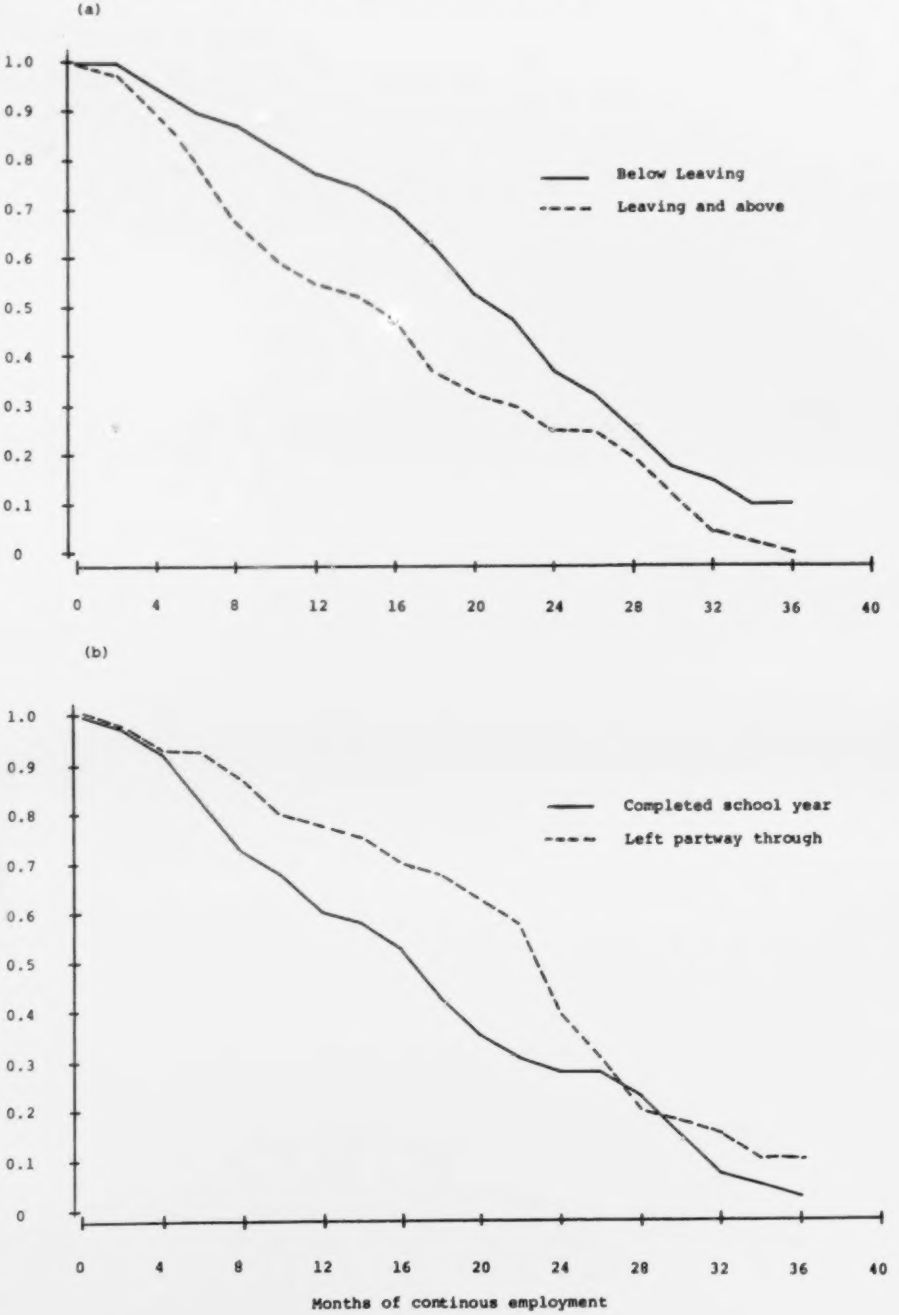
Figure 7.14: Survival curves of school leavers relating to the duration of continuous employment since the start of the first job according to whether they had (a) completed the school year, and (b) done paid work while still at school (1980–81 survey) total sample



7.5 Total duration between leaving school and starting the first job

The foregoing analysis has been based entirely on the respondents' stated duration of unemployment between leaving school and gaining the first job. However, many of the respondents stated that they were on 'holidays' during some of the time between the end of their schooling and the time when they began working, while others stated that they were doing a post-school (non-tertiary) course during the waiting time for the first job. It is of some interest to repeat the foregoing analysis, incorporating these additional activities, which in some sense could be regarded as a form of unemployment and which certainly do constitute additional time spent in non-paid activity.

Differences by sex and ethnic group

The results of the survival analysis applied to the total duration between leaving school and starting the first job, according to ethnic group and sex, are summarised in the last column of Table 7.1. A comparison with the corresponding analysis relating to duration of unemployment only and the comparison provided in Figure 7.11, indicate the influence of these other activities on the total period before starting work. Among males the median duration is increased by 0.31 months to 1.07 months and among females it is increased by 1.44 months to 3.13 months when these additional activities are included, the greater increase among females being due to the high proportions of these who do a post-school course before finding work. Differences between subgroups retain the same significance as before in most cases, with the exception that differences between Greek males and females become significant when the total duration is considered (because so many Greek girls do post-school secretarial courses), while differences between Anglo-Australian males and females are no longer significant.

Differences in the total duration between leaving school and starting work among the Australian-born population follow almost the same patterns of significance as was observed for the durations of unemployment before the first job. Thus, for example, one finds significance in the difference between the sexes in the second generation Italian population but not between the second generation Greeks. The exception to the similarity is that differences between Australian-born Italian and Anglo-Australian males are not significant when the total duration is considered, but are when only unemployment is. Both approaches produce significant differences between Australian-born Greek and Anglo-Australian males, between Australian-born Greek and Anglo-Australian females and between Australian-born Italian and Anglo-Australian females (see the last two columns of Table 7.2).

Influence of level of schooling

When the influence of the Leaving level of schooling on the total duration before the first job is considered, some significance emerges, contrary to the pattern when only unemployment is taken into account. Males with the Leaving or above have a significantly longer total duration before the first job than males who have not attained the Leaving and Anglo-Australians with the Leaving also have a significantly longer time-period before the first job than Anglo-Australians without this qualification (see the last column of Table 7.3).

The change from a consideration of the duration of unemployment only to the total duration before the first job produces a divergence in the experience of males, from median durations of unemployment of 0.72 and 0.80 months for those without and with the Leaving to corresponding median total durations of 0.88 and 1.55 months. However, the same change produces a convergence in the corresponding sets of figures for females, from 1.25 and 1.93 months to 3.20 and 3.10 months respectively. One possible explanation of this is that males with the Leaving are perhaps rewarded with a holiday at the end of schooling before starting work and/or are given time to choose an appropriate job, whereas the others are expected to begin work sooner, as a form of compensation for not having gained this qualification. For girls, the convergence is explained by the fact that those without the Leaving are relatively more likely to do a post-school course before finding their first job.

Influence of completing the school year

In comparison with the situation when only unemployment is considered, the median durations before the first job increase when unemployment and other activities are considered and increase by a greater amount among those who completed the year (largely as a result of holidays) than among those who left part-way through the school year. (See Figure 7.12(a) and the last column of Table 7.4.) For example the survival patterns of males who have completed the year and males who have not become significantly different, a change from median durations of 0.79 and 0.71 months, to median durations of 1.44 and 0.76 months respectively. The increase in medians is also especially large among females who completed the year, from 2.12 to 3.33 months, because this group is more likely to do a post-school course in comparison with both males who completed the year and with females who left part-way through (for whom the change is from 0.76 to 0.83 months).

Within each ethnic group also, the increase in median durations is also greater among those who completed the year compared with those who did not. However, in each case, significance occurs only for the Greeks.

Influence of working for pay while at school

For both those who worked while at school and those who did not the median of the total duration between leaving school and starting work is greater than the median duration of unemployment before the first job (see the two sets of figures in Table 7.5) and, for each sex and ethnic group considered, the increase between the two is greater among those who did not work while at school (see Figure 7.12(b)). However, unlike the previous factor considered, the increases over each category are relatively more even (instead of being confined to those in one category, i.e. those who completed the year). For example, median durations for males who worked while at school change from 0.69 to 0.94 months; and for males who did not work from 1.50 to 2.12 months. The corresponding figures for females are 0.91 and 1.55 months and 3.06 and 3.90 months.

7.6 Duration of continuous employment

Once a school leaver has obtained paid work the next question that arises is how long he or she remains in employment before becoming unemployed. Again, the data from the survey enable this aspect to be explored and once again the technique of 'survival analysis' can be used. The value of the survival analysis in catering for censored cases is even more apparent in this context, because a relatively high proportion of those who have obtained paid employment have not subsequently become unemployed (around 28 per cent). In the analysis of the duration of continuous employment before becoming unemployed, the first month at work in the first job is analogous to the time of entry in the survival program, remaining in that first job or moving to another job (or jobs) without a period of unemployment or without an unpaid holiday in between represents continuing survival, while subsequently becoming unemployed is analagous to a terminal event in the survival analysis. Obviously those who have never had a job (27 out of 343) are omitted from this part of the analysis. The following paragraphs describe the characteristics of the sample according to the duration of continuous employment after first entering the workforce.

Overall, for the entire sample the median duration of the first period of continuous employment is 17.75 months. The survival curve is found to depict an almost linear relationship with time, of the form y = 1-x/35.5, implying that one-half of school leavers who have obtained paid work will become unemployed after nearly 18 months and all will have become unemployed after nearly three years.

Unlike the reasonably clearly defined implications of a long period of unemployment before the first job, the interpretation of the results in this part of the analysis regarding continuous employment after starting the first job are a little more complex. While losing a job unintentionally and becoming unemployed is seen as undesirable, leaving a job intentionally when there are good prospects of moving to a better job is a step towards upward job mobility and, as such, is desirable, even though in the short term the incidence of unemployment may be higher.

Differences by sex and ethnic group

Unlike the patterns observed in the duration of unemployment before the first job, which pointed to a considerably longer waiting time for females, there are no overall sex differences in the duration of continuous employment after gaining the first job. The median durations are 17.94 months for males and 17.51 months for females, with an associated probability of 0.3564, which is not significant (see Table 7.8).

The greater mobility of males in intentionally leaving the first job to move to a better one is possibly balanced by the relatively high proportions of females who unintentionally lose their first job and become unemployed without any immediate prospects of proceeding to another.

Even though there were no overall differences according to sex, it was important to consider each ethnic group separately, to investigate whether this situation existed for all. In fact, within both the Greek and Italian ethnic groups there were no significant differences between the duration of continuous employment of each sex (even though the medians differed by 4–5 months). However, within the Anglo-Australian group there was a significant difference between males and females, the median duration of continuous employment of males being 23.85 months compared with 20.10 months for females.

A comparison of the survival patterns of each ethnic group within each sex group provides some varied contrasts, as Figure 7.13 demonstrates. Among males, the Anglo-Australians have a significantly different survival pattern (with a median of 23.85 months) compared with the similar survival patterns of the Greek and Italian males (median duration of continuous employment of 14.15 and 14.44 months respectively). Among these two groups, it is possibly the greater incidence of intentional rather than unintentional leaving of the first job which accounts for their shorter duration of continuous employment compared with the Anglo-Australians (see Table 6.13 in Chapter 6 and Table 11.11 in Chapter 11.)

Among females, the Italians and Anglo-Australians exhibit similar behaviour with regard to remaining continuously employed (with median durations of 18.99 and 20.10 months respectively) while, in this case, it is the Greeks who have significantly different experience (median value of 9.10 months) (see also Table 7.8). As Table 6.13 in Chapter 6 and Table 11.12 in Chapter 11 show, a high proportion of Greek females have left their first job because they were retrenched or because it was only a temporary job at the start, that is, unintentional leaving, so that among females the differences between ethnic groups are more of a function of unintentional than intentional leaving of the first job.

Differences by level of education

Unlike the pattern of experience of unemployment before the first job, having or not having the Leaving level of schooling does significantly influence the duration of continuous employment once a person has begun work. However, surprisingly, it is those who left school below the Leaving who have the longer period of continuous employment (median duration 20.90 months) and not those who have gained the Leaving or higher qualifications (median duration 15.03 months). (See Table 7.9 and Figure 7.14(a).) A possible explanation is and the data suggest that this is true, that, in comparison with those without the Leaving, those with the Leaving are more mobile within the labour force and are more ambitious with regard to seeking out a better job, even if it means a month or so of unemployment in between jobs. In other words, those with the Leaving are more likely to be engaged in intentional leaving while those without are more likely to leave the first job unintentionally.

An analysis of the influence of level of education for each sex produces similar results; in each case there is a longer duration of continuous employment among those without the Leaving. However, this time the survival distributions are significantly different only for males, with the suggestion that females with the Leaving are perhaps less ambitious, more satisfied with the jobs available, or perhaps less confident about leaving an existing job, or more able to find a satisfactory white collar job compared with males with the Leaving.

Table 7.8: **Median duration of continuous employment of school leavers since the start of the first job and comparison tests, according to sex and ethnic group, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

Category	*n*	*Median duration (months)*	*Probability p*
Total	316	17.75	Not applicable
Male	151	17.94	
Female	165	17.51	.3564
Greek	97	10.84	
Italian	118	17.24	
Anglo-Australian	101	21.88	.0000***
Greek			
Male	48	14.15	
Female	49	9.10	.4851
Italian			
Male	52	14.44	
Female	66	18.99	.3114
Anglo-Australian			
Male	51	23.85	
Female	50	20.10	.0448*
Males (a)			
Greek	48	14.15	
Italian	52	14.44	
Anglo-Australian	51	20.10	.0024**
Females (b)			
Greek	49	9.10	
Italian	66	18.99	
Anglo-Australian	50	20.10	.0024**

* Significant at the 5 per cent level. ** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

(a) Paired comparisons: Greek and Italian p = .5346; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0003**; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .0010**.

(b) Paired comparisons: Greek and Italian p = .0082**; Greek and Anglo-Australian p = .0013**; Italian and Anglo-Australian p = .5429.

Table 7.9: **Median duration of continuous employment of school leavers since the start of the first job and comparison tests, according to level of schooling, completion of the school year and workforce activity while still at school, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

Category	*n*	*Median duration (months)*	*Probability p*
Below leaving	132	20.90	
Leaving and above	184	15.03	.0001***
Completed year	236	16.65	
Left part-way	79	22.82	.0062**
Worked while at school	184	18.88	
Did not work	120	16.40	.1176

** Significant at the 1 per cent level. *** Significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

Influence of completing the school year

Those who left school part-way through the year have a significantly longer continuous duration at work (with a median of 22.82 months) than those who completed the school year (median duration of 16.65 months) and the differences are significant. (See Table 7.9 and Figure 7.14(b).) However, these differences lose their significance when males and females are considered separately, although in terms of the differences between the medians, it would seem that differences in job mobility are greatest among males. Again, the data regarding the reasons for leaving the first job suggest that intentional leaving is more common among those who completed the school year while unintentional leaving is more common among those who did not.

Influence of working for pay while at school

In contrast to the significant influence of this variable on the duration of unemployment before the first job, working or not working part time while still at school has little influence on the duration of continuous employment after gaining the first job.

Again the analysis was repeated separately for each sex. Although the set of survival distributions produced for males were not significantly different, they did have a value of p of 0.10 and quite large differences between the median durations. However, these was no suggestion of significance between the two corresponding groups of females and their median survival values, by contrast, were very close together.

Influence of past workforce experience

It was realised that in addition to school-related experience, the duration of continuous employment could be influenced by events associated with the respondent's entry into the workforce. Accordingly, the influence of some of these factors was tested. Because the sample numbers were too small to do this separately for each ethnic group, the analysis was restricted to the combined population of Greek and Italian school leavers.

The first hypothesis to be tested was whether being unemployed before gaining the first job has an effect on the subsequent duration of continuous employment. However, there was no significant influence of this either for Greek and Italian males or for Greek and Italian females. With regard to size of workplace, there were no significant differences between males, but Greek and Italian females remained longer in small establishments (median duration 19.20 months) than in medium (13.73 months) or large (8.51 months) and the overall difference was significant.

Although overall there was no significant difference among males according to the type of first job, there were significant differences in the paired comparisons for females between those in sales (median duration 19.89 months) compared with those in clerical (median duration 16.25 months) and with those in trade and other non-factory jobs (median duration 12.26 months).

7.7 Other factors

Influence of geographic area

Another test was in relation to the two catchment areas for the sample of school leavers, the area contingent to Brunswick and Northcote (Area 1) on one hand and that contingent to Oakleigh and Moorabbin (Area 2) on the other. The median duration of unemployment before the first job was found to be shorter in Area 2, 0.86 months, than in Area 1, 1.38 months and the probability associated with the two survival curves was significant.

A similar result is obtained in relation to the total duration between leaving school and starting the first job: teenagers in the Moorabbin-Oakleigh area had a shorter median duration (1.50 months) compared with those in Brunswick-Northcote (2.44 months) and the two corresponding survival distrubutions were significantly different.

The duration of continuous employment after starting the first job was found to be longer in the Moorabbin-Oakleigh area (18.83 months) than in the Brunswick-Northcote area (16.33 months), and again the underlying patterns were significantly different. Therefore, overall, the school leavers in the Moorabbin–Oakleigh area seem to have an advantage in terms of a shorter period before the first job and possibly also an advantage through a longer period of continuous employment after obtaining the first job. These findings agree with the description of areal differences in Section 8.3 of Chapter 8.

Influence of language at home

Another test showed that the pattern of language usage at home had no significant influence on the initial duration of unemployment of school leavers in this sample, although, there was a consistent decrease in the median durations of unemployment before the first job with each greater degree of use of English at home, from 2.30 to 1.61 to 1.08 months.

7.8 Cumulative proportions surviving and 95 per cent confidence limits

Another approach to testing the significance of differences between subgroups in survival analysis is by an inspection of the cumulative proportions surviving to certain durations since the initial event and the standard errors (S.E.) of these proportions. Accordingly, 95 per cent confidence limits can be calculated from the observed proportion plus or minus twice the standard error. The cumulative proportions surviving of two subgroups are then considered to be significantly different if the 95 per cent confidence limits of each do not overlap. In the following analysis, it will be noted that some values that were significantly different according to the comparison test based on the D statistic are not significant when compared on the basis of the 95 per cent confidence limits of cumulative proportions surviving. This is largely because the D statistic test is based on all observed values over the whole range of durations, and apparent contradictions between the two tests seem to occur most often when the confidence limits consistently overlap to a very small extent over a wide range of durations. The results of this approach in relation to the cumulative proportions surviving unemployed since leaving school and the cumulative proportions surviving as employed since gaining the first job are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Cumulative proportions remaining unemployed since leaving school

Cumulative proportions surviving as unemployed since leaving school and their corresponding 95 per cent limits are presented in Table 7.10 for various subgroups of the sample and at durations relating to the end of one, two and four months since leaving school.

Within the first two sets of subgroups relating to sex and ethnic background it can be seen that there is a significantly higher proportion remaining unemployed among Greek males in comparison with Anglo-Australian males (at all the selected durations), among Greek females in comparison with Anglo-Australian females (at durations 1 and 2 months), and among Anglo-Australian females in comparison with Anglo-Australian males (at durations 1 and 4 months).

The next six sets of values indicate male–female differences in relation to the factors, having the Leaving level of schooling, completing the school year and working for pay while at school. There are no significant differences in the cumulative proportions surviving as unemployed between males with the Leaving and those without, nor between females with the Leaving and those without. However, there are significant differences between males with the Leaving and females with the Leaving during the first month after leaving school, females having more trouble initially in getting a job, but this difference loses its significance at the later durations. It is of interest to note that there are no significant differences between males and females without the Leaving.

There are no significant differences within the male subgroup with regard to whether they completed the school year. A significant difference within the female subgroup occurs only at the earliest duration, when those leaving part-way through the year have a lower probability of being unemployed compared with those who completed the year, indicating the short-term benefit of such a practice. There are more sustained differences when the sexes are compared; males who completed the school year are significantly more able to find jobs within the first two months after seeking work in comparison with females who have completed the school year, although by the fourth month the difference is no longer significant.

With regard to the third main factor being considered, working for pay while at school, there are no significant differences in the probability of remaining unemployed between corresponding groups of males and females; for example, females who worked are no better or worse off than males who worked. However, within each sex subgroup there are significant differences between those who worked for pay while still at school and those who did not and in all cases the probability of remaining unemployed after leaving school is significantly less among those who worked.

The next part of Table 7.10 provides information about ethnic differences with regard to these three factors. The only difference between not having the Leaving and having it within a given ethnic group occurs for the Anglo-Australians; those with the Leaving were significantly more likely to be unemployed during the first month since leaving school in comparison with those who had not attained that level of schooling. It is worth noting that only among the Italians is there a lower probability of remaining unemployed among those with the Leaving or above than among those without the Leaving, even though these differences are not significant. Significant differences in the proportion remaining unemployed exist between the ethnic groups: both Greeks and Italians without the Leaving are more likely to remain unemployed in comparison with Anglo-Australians without the Leaving at the two early durations and Greeks with the Leaving or above are also more likely to remain unemployed in comparison with the Anglo-Australians at durations of 1 and 4 months since leaving school.

There are no significant differences with regard to remaining unemployed between those who completed the school year and those who did not within ethnic groups. However, there are differences between ethnic groups, in that a significantly higher proportion of Greeks who have completed the school year remain unemployed in comparison with the Anglo-Australians who completed the school year, at each of the durations considered.

Unlike the comparison test based on the D statistic there is less significance with regard to unemployment before the first job within ethnic groups between those who worked for pay while at school and those who did not. This apparent contradiction is an example of the phenomenon mentioned at the beginning of Section 7.8. Significant differences in the proportion remaining unemployed are observed only at the end of the second month among Greeks and at the end of the fourth month among Italians. In both cases those who did not work had a higher probability of remaining unemployed. Interestingly, there were no differences between ethnic groups, suggesting that Greeks and Italians who worked for pay while at school were no better or worse off than Anglo-Australians who worked when at school and that Greeks and Italians who did not work were no better or worse off than the corresponding group of Anglo-Australians.

An additional test has been included in relation to unemployment patterns according to the ultimate source of the first job. There are no significant differences in the proportions remaining unemployed within any of the ethnic groups, but there are differences between them. Anglo-Australians who obtained their first job through parents, relatives or friends had a significantly lower probability of remaining unemployed during the early months since leaving school, i.e. they obtained that job faster, in comparison with Greeks who obtained their first job in this way, but not in comparison with the corresponding group of Italians. However, Anglo-Australians had a significantly lower probability of remaining unemployed compared with both Greeks and Italians if the first job had been obtained from other sources, at least at durations of 1 and 4 months after leaving school.

Finally it is important to note that the differences between the Greeks and Anglo-Australians persist but are less marked when the experience of Australian-born Greeks is compared with that of the Anglo-Australians.

A test in relation to the combined influence of completing the school year and working for pay while still at school is also presented in Table 7.10. This shows that those who completed the school year and did not work while at school have a significantly higher proportion remaining unemployed

Table 7.10 **Cumulative proportion remaining unemployed 1, 2 and 4 months since leaving school (excluding holidays and post-school courses) and 95 per cent confidence limits, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

	Cumulative proportion remaining unemployed and 95% confidence limits at the end of:		
Category	*1 month*	*2 months*	*4 months*
Males			
Greek	.55 (.37,.65)	.45 (.32,.59)	.30 (.18,.43)
Italian	.38 (.24,.51)	.32 (19,.45)	.13 (.04,.23)
Anglo-Australian	.15 (.05,.25)	.15 (05,.25)	.06 (0,.12)
Females			
Greek	.71 (.59,.77)	.58 (.45,.71)	.40 (.27,.53)
Italian	.61 (.49,.72)	.47 (.36,.59)	.32 (.22,.43)
Anglo-Australian	.42 (.29,.56)	.31 (.18,.44)	.25 (.16,.34)
Males			
Below leaving	.30 (.19,.41)	.26(.15,.37)	.14 (.06,.23)
Leaving & above	.38 (.28,.48)	.34 (.24,.44)	.18 (.10,.26)
Females			
Below leaving	.53 (.41,.65)	.42 (.30,.53)	.32 (.20,.42)
Leaving & above	.62 (.53,.72)	.49 (.40,.58)	.28 (.19,.37)
Males			
Completed year	.36 (.28,.45)	.33 (.24,.42)	.19 (.11,.26)
Left part-way	.29 (.15,.43)	.24 (.11,.38)	.10 (.01,.19)
Females			
Completed year	.64 (.56,.72)	.51 (.43,.60)	.30 (.22,.38)
Left part-way	.40 (.25,.54)	.30 (.16,.44)	.28 (.14,.41)
Males			
Worked for pay	.28 (.19,.37)	.23 (.15,.31)	.10 (.04,.16)
Did not work	.51 (.36,.66)	.49 (.34,.64)	.30 (.16,.44)
Females			
Worked for pay	.45 (.34,.56)	.31 (.21,.42)	.15 (.07,.23)
Did not work	.70 (.60,.79)	.58 (.48,.68)	.41 (.31,.51)
Greek			
Below leaving	.53 (.39,.68)	.44 (.29,.59)	.30 (.16,.44)
Leaving & above	.67 (.55,.78)	.57 (.45,.70)	.39 (.27,.51)
Italian			
Below leaving	.57 (.43,.71)	.45 (.31,.59)	.29 (.16,.42)
Leaving & above	.47 (.36,.59)	.38 (.38,.49)	.22 (.12,.31)
Anglo-Aust.			
Below leaving	.15 (.04,.25)	.13 (.03,.23)	.11 (.02,.20)
Leaving & above	.40 (.27,.52)	.31 (.19,.43)	.09 (.01,.16)

Table 7.10 *(continued)*

	Cumulative proportion remaining unemployed and 95% confidence limits at the end of:		
Category	*1 month*	*2 months*	*4 months*
Greek			
Completed year	.67 (.57,.77)	.58 (.47,.68)	.39 (.28,.50)
Left part-way	.39 (.19,.60)	.30 (.11,.50)	.22 (.05,.39)
Italian			
Completed year	.52 (.42,.62)	.42 (.32,.52)	.23 (.15,.32)
Left part-way	.46 (.28,.65)	.39 (.21,.58)	.29 (.11,.46)
Anglo-Aust.			
Completed year	.32 (.21,.43)	.26 (.16,.37)	.10 (.03,.17)
Left part-way	.21 (.07,.35)	.15 (.03,.28)	.09 (0,.19)
Greek			
Worked for pay	.45 (.29,.61)	.32 (.18,.47)	.20 (.07,.33)
Did not work	.70 (.59,.82)	.62 (.50,.75)	.43 (.30,.55)
Italian			
Worked for pay	.42 (.30,.53)	.34 (.23,.45)	.14 (.06,.22)
Did not work	.66 (.52,.80)	.53 (.39,.68)	.40 (.26,.55)
Anglo-Aust.			
Worked for pay	.23 (.13,.33)	.16 (.08,.25)	.05 (0,.11)
Did not work	.46 (.28,.65)	.43 (.24,.62)	.21 (.06,.37)
Greek			
Source of 1st job PRF	.56 (.39,.74)	.53 (.36,.71)	.22 (.07,.36)
Other sources	.55 (.42,.67)	.41 (.28,.53)	.28 (.17,.39)
Italian			
Source of 1st job PRF	.37 (.23,.51)	.28 (.15,.41)	.13 (.03,.23)
Other sources	.54 (.42,.66)	.42 (.30,.53)	.22 (.12,.32)
Anglo-Aust.			
Source of 1st job PRF	.19 (.06,.32)	.14 (.02,.25)	.05 (0,.13)
Other sources	.30 (.18,.41)	.23 (.13,.34)	.06 (0,.12)
Aust.-born males			
Greek	.46 (.25,.66)	.42 (.21,.62)	.29 (.11,.48)
Italian	.40 (.25,.55)	.35 (.30,.58)	.16 (.05,.27)
Anglo-Aust.	.15 (.05,.25)	.15 (.05,.25)	.06 (0,.12)
Aust.-born females			
Greek	.71 (.57,.85)	.63 (.48,.78)	.42 (.26,.58)
Italian	.62 (.48,.75)	.44 (.30,.58)	.31 (.18,.44)
Anglo-Aust.	.42 (.29,.56)	.31 (.18,.44)	.13 (.16,.34)
Completed, paid work	.37 (.29,.46)	.29 (.21,.36)	.13 (.07,.18)
Completed, no paid work	.70 (.61,.79)	.62 (.52,.71)	.40 (.31,.50)
Left part-way, paid work	.29 (.16,.42)	.20 (.09,.32)	.10 (.01,.18)
Left part-way, no paid work	.42 (.25,.60)	.36 (.20,.53)	.30 (.14,.46)

PRF = Parent, relative or friend.

Table 7.11 **Cumulative proportion remaining employed 6, 12 and 24 months after starting the first job and 95 per cent confidence limits, based on survival analysis (1980–81 survey)**

	Cumulative proportion remaining unemployed and 95% confidence limits at the end of:		
Category	*6 month*	*12 months*	*24 months*
Greek	.75 (.65,.85)	.47 (.35,.58)	.17 (.08,.26)
Italian	.85 (.78,.92)	.65 (.55,.75)	.30 (.19,.40)
Anglo-Australian	.95 (.91, 1)	.80 (.72,.88)	.43 (.32,.54)
Males			
Greek	.74 (.61,.88)	.56 (.40,.72)	.21 (.06,.35)
Italian	.82 (.70,.93)	.55 (.39,.70)	.29 (.14,.44)
Anglo-Australian	.94 (.86, 1)	.87 (.77,.97)	.49 (.34,.65)
Females			
Greek	.75 (.62,.88)	.38 (.22,.54)	.14 (.01,.26)
Italian	.88 (.80,.97)	.74 (.62,.86)	.30 (.16,.45)
Anglo-Australian	.95 (.89, 1)	.72 (.58,.87)	.35 (.18,.52)
Males*			
Below leaving	.92	.73	.30
Leaving & above	.72	.46	.23
Females*			
Below leaving	.87	.75	.31
Leaving & above	.81	.50	.19
Males*			
Completed year	.78	.51	.25
Left part-way	.88	.76	.27
Females*			
Completed year	.81	.59	.23
Left part-way	.94	.62	.30
Males*			
Worked for pay	.85	.64	.31
Did not work	.72	.43	.20
Females*			
Worked for pay	.76	.60	.24
Did not work	.88	.57	.24

Table 7.11 *(continued)*

Category	*Cumulative proportion remaining unemployed and 95% confidence limits at the end of:* 6 month	12 months	24 months
Greek			
Below leaving	.80 (.66,.94)	.58 (.40,.76)	.15 (0,.31)
Leaving & above	.72 (.59,.84)	.42 (.28,.56)	.18 (.06,.31)
Italian			
Below leaving	.98 (.93, 1)	.86 (.75,.98)	.41 (.24,.59)
Leaving & above	.81 (.71,.91)	.54 (.40,.67)	.23 (.10,.36)
Anglo-Aust.			
Below leaving	.98 (.93, 1)	.93 (.85, 1)	.52 (.35,.68)
Leaving & above	.95 (.89,.12)	.72 (.58,.86)	.39 (.23,.55)
Greek			
Completed year	.71 (.61,.82)	.45 (.33,.58)	.19 (.08,.29)
Left part-way	.89 (.75, 1)	.60 (.34,.86)	.11 (0,.31)
Italian			
Completed year	.87 (.79,.94)	.63 (.52,.75)	.28 (.17,.40)
Left part-way	.91 (.79, 1)	.80 (.61,.98)	.43 (.31,.55)
Anglo-Aust.			
Completed year	.95 (.89, 1)	.76 (.65,.88)	.38 (.24,.52)
Left part-way	1.00 (1, 1)	.93 (.83, 1)	.58 (.38,.77)
Greek			
Worked with pay	.72 (.57,.88)	.52 (.34,.70)	.16 (.02,.30)
Did not work	.78 (.66,.90)	.43 (.28,.59)	.20 (.01,.29)
Italian			
Worked with pay	.86 (.77,.94)	.67 (.55,.79)	.33 (.21,.46)
Did not work	.91 (.81, 1)	.67 (.48,.85)	.25 (.06,.45)
Anglo-Aust.			
Worked with pay	.98 (.95, 1)	.98 (.88, 1)	.51 (.37,.64)
Did not work	.92 (.81, 1)	.83 (.68,.99)	.34 (.12,.56)

* 95% confidence limits have been excluded because they showed no significant differences between subgroups or between the sexes.

since leaving school in comparison with each of the other three categories, those who completed the year and worked for pay while at school, those who left part-way and worked and those who left part-way and did not work. Obviously, the combination of the two characteristics, completing the year and not working, is important.

Cumulative proportions remaining employed since starting work

Table 7.11 summarises the information about the cumulative proportions remaining employed since starting work and the corresponding 95 per cent confidence limits for durations since starting the first job of 6, 12 and 24 months.

Overall, there are significant differences between Greeks and Anglo-Australians with regard to the proportions remaining employed, the Anglo-Australians having the highest values. When both ethnic group and sex are considered, it is found that, among males, only at twelve months since leaving school do Anglo-Australian males have a significantly higher proportion remaining employed and this occurs in comparison with both Greek and Italian males. Differences within the female group show rather more significance. At durations 6 and 12 months Anglo-Australian females have a significantly higher probability of remaining employed in comparison with Greek females, while there is some less consistent evidence to suggest that Italian females remain employed longer than Greek females but for a shorter time than Anglo-Australian females.

While there are no significant differences within each ethnic group with regard to the influence of having obtained the Leaving level of schooling, significant differences emerge between ethnic groups. Anglo-Australians with the Leaving or above have a significantly greater probability of remaining employed until 6 and 12 months duration after starting work in comparison with Greeks with the Leaving, while the same is true of Anglo-Australians without the Leaving in comparison with Greeks without the Leaving at durations 12 and 24 months.

Again there are no significant differences within ethnic groups with regard to the influence of completing the school year. However, again significance emerges when a comparison is made between ethnic groups. The most consistent pattern to emerge in this case is that Greeks who completed the school year have a significantly lower probability of remaining employed up to durations 6 and 12 months since starting work in comparison with the Anglo-Australians.

As before, there are no significant differences within ethnic groups with regard to the influence of working for pay while at school. However, consistently significant differences occur between ethnic groups in that at durations 6 and 12 months since starting work, a significantly higher proportion of Anglo-Australians who worked for pay while at school remain employed in comparison with either the Greeks or the Italians who also did paid work at school.

7.9 Component analysis of the relative influence of experience between categories and distribution between categories

Having established that certain ethnic groups with certain characteristics experience more unemployment in comparison with Anglo-Australians with the corresponding characteristics, the questions that now arise are:

1. whether the distribution of an ethnic group between categories reduces or increases this difference; and
2. which characteristic within the total ethnic group is the source of the largest proportion of the difference between that ethnic group and the Anglo-Australian population.

To a large extent the answers to these questions can be provided by a component analysis, in which the experience of the Anglo-Australian population with respect to each attribute is substituted in turn into the calculation of the percentage unemployed (or the percentage remaining employed) for the total ethnic group. Ideally, of course this analysis should be done according to sex and ethnic group, but because of the size of the sample, this refinement is not possible.

Table 7.12: Component analysis of the relative influence of experience within categories and distribution between categories among Greeks and Italians in comparison with Anglo-Australians with regard to the proportion remaining unemployed 2 months after leaving school (excluding holidays, etc) 1980–81 survey

			% unemployed in the total ethnic group			
				If Anglo-Aust. experience is substituted in:		
Ethnic group category	*% in each category*	*% unemployed*	*Observed*	*Category A*	*Category B*	*% distribution over each category*
Greek						
A Below Leaving	44	44				
B Leaving & above	56	57	51	38	37	51
Italian						
A Below Leaving	39	45				
B Leaving and above	61	38	41	28	36	41
Anglo-Aust.						
A Below Leaving	45	13				
B Leaving & above	55	31	23	23	23	23
Greek						
A Completed year	87	58				
B Left part-way	13	30	51	27	49	49
Italian						
A Completed year	78	42				
B Left part-way	22	39	41	29	36	41
Anglo-Aust.						
A Completed year	69	26				
B Left part-way	31	15	23	23	23	23
Greek						
A Worked at school	38	32				
B Did not work	62	62	51	45	39	40
Italian						
A Worked at school	62	34				
B Did not work	38	53	41	30	37	39
Anglo-Aust.						
A Worked at school	72	16				
B Did not work	28	43	23	23	23	23

Proportion remaining unemployed

Table 7.12 compares the relative influence of various components in relation to the proportion remaining unemployed two months after leaving school (excluding holidays etc.). The left-hand set of figures documents the characteristics of the ethnic group, while the right-hand set refers to the percentage unemployed among the total population, firstly as observed, secondly with the substitution of Anglo-Australian experience with regard to the proportion unemployed among those without their Leaving, thirdly with the substitution of Anglo-Australian experience with regard to the proportion unemployed among those with their Leaving and fourthly with the substitution of Anglo-Australian experience with regard to the proportions with and without their Leaving. This process has then been repeated with each set of characteristics within each ethnic group, each time with the substitution of Anglo-Australian experience for each of the three components of the total proportion unemployed.

Two conclusions can be drawn from Table 7.12. Firstly, with one exception (the Italians with and without the Leaving) the Greek and Italian school leavers are always distributed unfavourably with regard to the proportions unemployed (although, in fact, they would be considered to be distributed favourably from a scholastic point of view). Thus, the proportions of Greeks (and Anglo-Australians) who are unemployed is higher among those with the Leaving than among those without it, but the proportion of Greeks with the Leaving is also higher than the proportion of Anglo-Australians. In each ethnic group the proportions who are unemployed is higher among those who completed the school year than among those who left part-way through and the proportions who have completed school is higher among the Greeks and Italians than among the Anglo-Australians. Similarly, in each ethnic group the proportions who are unemployed is higher among those who did not do paid work while still at school and the proportion who did not work while still at school is higher among the Greeks and Italians than among the Anglo-Australians. Therefore, rather than reducing the incidence of unemployment the bias in the distribution of the Greeks and Italians towards gaining the Leaving, completing the school year and not working while at school, tends to increase it, with regard to the current sample.

The second observation relates to the component which, if substituted by Anglo-Australian experience, would bring about the greatest difference in the proportion unemployed in the total ethnic group. Or, in other words, it identifies the largest cause of the higher unemployment of a given ethnic group with regard to the given characteristic. Thus, it can be seen that:

1. With regard to level of schooling, the disadvantage of the Greeks is principally in relation to the unemployment rate among those with the Leaving and to a slightly lesser extent among those without the Leaving, rather than as a result of their distribution according to whether they have the Leaving or not. Among the Italians, the disadvantage is greatest in relation to the unemployment level among those without the Leaving.
2. With regard to completing the school year, the disadvantage arises mainly with regard to the level of unemployment among the Greeks and Italians who have completed the year and is much less affected by the experience of those who left part-way through, or by the distribution between those who completed and those who did not.
3. With regard to working while at school, the disadvantage among the Greeks is largely a result of the relatively low proportion who worked while at school, while the disadvantage among the Italians is largely a result of the unemployment experience within the group who worked while at school.

Proportion remaining employed

Table 7.13 summarises the findings regarding the relative influence of experience within categories and distribution between categories on the proportions of the total ethnic group remaining employed 12 months after starting the first job.

As in the analysis of the components affecting the proportions remaining unemployed, it is also

Table 7.13: **Component analysis of the relative influence of experience within categories and distribution between categories among Greeks and Italians in comparison with Anglo-Australians with regard to the proportion remaining employed 12 months after starting the first job (1980–81 survey)**

			% unemployed in the total ethnic group			
				If Anglo-Aus. experience is substituted in:		
Ethnic group category	*% in each category*	*% unemployed*	*Observed*	*Category A*	*Category B*	*% distribution over each category*
Greek						
A Below Leaving	41	58				
B Leaving & above	59	42	49	63	66	49
Italian						
A Below Leaving	40	86				
B Leaving & above	60	54	67	70	78	68
Anglo-Aust.						
A Below Leaving	45	93				
B Leaving & above	55	72	81	81	81	81
Greek						
A Completed year	77	45				
B Left part-way	23	60	49	72	56	50
Italian						
A Completed year	79	63				
B Left part-way	21	80	67	77	69	69
Anglo-Aust.						
A Completed year	67	76				
B Left part-way	33	93	81	81	81	81
Greek						
A Worked at school	42	52				
B Did not work	58	43	47	66	35	50
Italian						
A Worked at school	64	67				
B Did not work	36	67	67	87	51	67
Anglo-Aust.						
A Worked at school	73	98				
B Did not work	27	23	78	78	78	78

found here that the distribution of the ethnic groups between categories always reinforces the differences which occur within each category, that is, there are higher proportions of Greeks and Italians in comparison with Anglo-Australians who have the Leaving, have completed the school year and who did not work for pay while at school and, in each of these categories and for each ethnic group, the proportions remaining employed after gaining the first job are lower than in the corresponding categories, below the Leaving, left part-way through and worked for pay.

When the level of schooling is considered it is found that for both the Greeks and Italians the component which accounts for the largest amount of the difference from the Anglo-Australians is the employment experience among those who have gained the Leaving level of schooling.

With regard to completing the school year, the component which has the greatest influence on the gap in experience between the Anglo-Australians and both the Greeks and Italians is the employment experience within the category who have completed the school year.

Finally, with regard to working for pay while at school, the largest component of difference between the Greeks and Italians and the Anglo-Australians is with respect to the employment experience of those who did paid work while still at school.

Overall, for each of the three factors considered, the different distribution between the categories contributed least to the total difference and the influence of the third component, i.e. the employment experience of those without the Leaving, of those who left school part-way through the year and of those who did not work while at school, was of middle-ranking importance, generally with more influence on Greek and Anglo-Australian differences than on Italian and Anglo-Australian differences. Thus the largest components of the difference in job mobility between the ethnic groups are contributed by those with the Leaving, those who completed the school year and those who did paid work while still at school. Whether this greater job mobility of the Greeks and Italians should be regarded as an advantage or a disadvantage is open to question. In the strict terms of unemployment only, these groups would appear to be disadvantaged and further evidence that Greek and Italian females are disadvantaged in other ways in comparison with Anglo-Australian females supports the hypothesis of overall disadvantage for them. However, in view of the reasons given for leaving the first job, the greater extent of departure from the first job among Greek and Italian males in comparison with Anglo-Australian males is perhaps, in some small part, a consequence of their greater attempts towards upward mobility in the job market.

7.10 Summary

Detailed month-by-month life histories of school leavers have provided information about the complex set of factors associated with their transition into the workforce. In the interpretation of the analysis it must be remembered that this study is measuring the experience of the subgroup who have not proceeded to tertiary education, it provides rather more experience about short-term than long-term experience in the workforce and it is concerned with a special group of school leavers, the Greeks and Italians. In particular the findings may differ from studies of the general population which tend to be dominated by the experience of the Anglo-Australian component, which include those who have continued with further study and which are usually based on cross-sectional rather than life history data. It must also be remembered that in this sample the experience of the Greek males is somewhat influenced by the relatively higher proportion of overseas-born in that population.

Frequency distributions (Section 7.2)

After leaving school a relatively large proportion of teenagers take a 'holiday' during the first couple of months before starting work or before regarding themselves as unemployed. This is more common among those who complete the year in comparison with those who leave part-way through and more common among those who have attained the Leaving than among those who left without this qualification. After leaving school, females differ from males with regard to remaining unemployed longer before the first job and, in addition, by taking up an extended post-school course, usually secretarial or sometimes hairdressing. This is particularly common among the Greek and Italian females. For each sex the proportions employed are initially higher, at least at the earlier durations, among those without the Leaving, among those who did not complete the school year and among those who worked for pay while still at school. In general Anglo-Australians appear to fare better than Italians, who, in turn, appear to fare better than Greeks. However, the situation is not as simple as it may at first seem and this is discussed later in this conclusion.

Survival analysis (Sections 7.3 to 7.7)

Overall it would seem that duration of unemployment before the first job is increased by:

(i) being female; and

(ii) being Greek and to a lesser extent, being Italian.

Competitiveness in finding the first job is increased by:

(i) working part-time while still at school—this appears to be of benefit to both sexes in reducing the initial duration of unemployment;

(ii) being given a job through the school; and

(iii) getting a job through parents, relatives or friends—this is one area where Italian males have benefited. Also, in this respect, having a father who is self-employed, as opposed to one who is retired, unemployed or deceased, also appears to reduce the initial duration of unemployment, especially for males.

Factors which appear to be of doubtful benefit are:

(i) Completing the school year—however, leaving part-way through the year is largely of benefit to those normally experiencing the longest duration of unemployment before the first job, namely, females and Greeks. Moreover, leaving part-way appears to confer only a short-term benefit, particularly among females. Curiously, those experiencing the longest duration of initial unemployment before the first job are those who completed the school year and who did not work while at school.

(ii) Doing post-school courses—while this is of benefit to males in that their post-school courses are usually associated with apprenticeships, the secretarial courses undertaken by the Greek and Italian females do not necessarily reduce the initial duration of unemployment; and

(iii) Staying at school to complete the Leaving—this does not seem to reduce the initial duration of unemployment among this group of school leavers (who have not proceeded to tertiary education). However, there could be a complex set of reasons to explain why, perhaps, teenagers who have been academically successful feel less pressure to gain the status of a paid job immediately after leaving school.

The main observations regarding factors influencing the duration of continuous employment after gaining the first job are:

(i) There are no overall differences between the sexes—that is, although females take longer to find the first job in comparison with males, once employed they stay in that job for as long as their male peers, but for different reasons.

(ii) Greek and Italian females are likely to stay employed longer in small establishments and when working for parents, relatives or friends than if working in other situations.

Cumulative proportions surviving (Section 7.8)

Sex differences. With regard to the period of unemployment before the first job, it would seem that females are not disadvantaged in relation to males only within the categories:

(i) below the Leaving;

(ii) left part-way through the year;

(iii) worked for pay while at school; and
(iv) did not work for pay while at school.

Males appear to have a significantly greater probability of becoming employed after a certain duration since leaving school compared with females within the categories:

(i) leaving and above; and
(ii) completed the school year.

However, with regard to the period of continuous employment since starting the first job, it seems that there are no sex differences in experience, at least with regard to the influence of the level attained at school, completion of the school year and working while at school.

Ethnic differences. When the proportion remaining unemployed at specified durations after leaving school is considered, the data suggest that Greeks and Italians are not disadvantaged in relation to Anglo-Australians only within the categories:

(i) leaving and above—Italians;
(ii) completed the school year—Italians;
(iii) left part-way—Italians and Greeks;
(iv) worked for pay—Italians and Greeks
(v) did not work—Italians and Greeks; and
(vi) first job from parents, relatives or friends—Italians.

Significant differences exist in comparison with Anglo-Australians with regard to the categories:

(i) Below the Leaving—Greeks and Italians;
(ii) Leaving and above—Greeks;
(iii) Completed school—Greeks;
(iv) First job from parents, relatives or friends—Greeks; and
(v) First job from other sources—Greeks and Italians.

When the proportion remaining employed after starting work at specified durations is considered, the findings from the analysis suggest that Greeks and Italians do not differ from Anglo-Australians within the categories:

(i) Leaving or above—Italians;
(ii) below the Leaving—Italians;
(iii) left part-way through the school year—Greeks and Italians;
(iv) completed the school year—Italians; and
(v) did not work while at school—Greeks and Italians.

In contrast, significant differences exist with respect to the categories:

(i) Leaving or above—Greeks;
(ii) below the Leaving—Greeks;
(iii) completed the school year—Greeks; and
(iv) worked with pay—Greeks and Italians.

Component analysis (Section 7.9)

It also seems that, to a large extent, the distribution of Greek and Italian school leavers in favour of doing the Leaving, completing the school year and not working for pay while at school, increases their risk, at least initially, of remaining unemployed before finding the first job and becoming unemployed after starting work. In addition, in the sample as a whole it is largely in these academically preferred categories that the initial rates of unemployment are highest and that probabilities of remaining employed are lowest, although in the longer term the unemployment rates converge and the benefits of passing the Leaving, completing the school year and early job mobility may be realised in terms of the type of job obtained.

CHAPTER 8

Other aspects from the survey

8.1 Job aspirations

The sample in this study consisted of young people who had left full-time education without obtaining any specific skills adequate to any area of skilled employment. Subsequently approximately one-half of them had undertaken some training, as was discussed in the chapter on schooling. In that chapter we saw that the Greek females were most likely to have undertaken further training, with the largest numbers in clerical work followed by the trades. The Italian and Anglo-Australian females were 10 and 20 per cent respectively, less likely to have undertaken training than the Greek females and again this was largely in clerical work but also partly in the trades. Of the males the Greeks were least likely to have undertaken training, the Italian males next and finally the Anglo-Australian males most likely. In all groups the trades were the main area, but it is interesting to note that the Greek males were more oriented towards higher academic education than the others, with nearly 10 per cent of them going on to complete Leaving or Higher School Certificate (HSC) part-time. In relation to academic study the Greek males were followed by the Anglo-Australian males where 6 per cent had done further academic study. The Italian males were not prominent in this area of further study and they were, in fact, the most varied of the three male groups in their choice of an area for further training.

When the respondents were asked if there were further training which they would like to do, some two-thirds answered in the affirmative. It seems then that there was a widespread desire for further training. The main areas of training mentioned were the major trades, a predominantly male choice, followed by the minor professions and then the minor trades, a predominantly female choice. Very few respondents aspired to the major professions or to university training.

It seems probable therefore that the jobs which were initially secured by these young people did not reflect the positions to which they aspired. However, let us consider the jobs which they did initially secure as our starting point.

The distribution of the sample according to the first job obtained after leaving school has already been referred to in Table 6.8 in Chapter 6. A large proportion of the females entered the clerical area either as stenographers and typists or in the other clerical category. The next most common area was that of sales, mainly as shop assistants. A small number in each ethnic group became bookkeepers and slightly smaller numbers became apprentices. In these particular areas, however, there were differences between the ethnic groups. The Anglo-Australian females were less likely to be trained clerical workers and less likely to be in clerical work at all—34.6 per cent, compared with 46.5 and 45.9 per cent in clerical work among the Greek and Italian females respectively. The Greek females were less likely to work in the sales area than were the other two groups, with a difference of approximately three to one. Beyond these work areas we find the Greek and Italian females entering hairdressing in small numbers but almost no Anglo-Australians in this area.

The situation with the males is more complex. The Anglo-Australian work positions were widely distributed with toolmakers, electricians, carpenters and cooks heading the list. The Italian males had a larger proportion as machine toolmakers, with sales next and followed by carpenters, electricians, apprentices and other clerical category jobs. The Greek males were different again in having fewer as machine toolmakers, although again this is high on the list, sales at the top of the list and labourers featuring prominently in third position. The proportion of Greek apprentices is higher than in the other two groups as is that of electricians, while the hairdressing trade is more prominent here. However, the small numbers at the lower end of this occupational listing make the comparisons rather meaningless.

Information was also sought from respondents on their current job, as about one-third of the sample had changed jobs. The females formed a large proportion of those who had changed jobs but their main areas of employment remained in the clerical and sales categories. The largest numbers of Greek and Italian males were still electricians, then salesmen and, for the Greeks, hairdressers. There were, in other words, no indications that the type of work had changed in the few years between leaving school and the interview.

A cross-tabulation of the data on first job and current job for the Greek and Italian female respondents shows that the changes were made mainly by those in clerical and sales positions and that the current job was either in the same area as initially or was a change between these two areas. Apparently it was comparatively easy to move either within or between these two areas of work. The same cross-tabulation for the Greek and Italian males shows that more than 50 per cent of those who changed jobs remained in the same type of work. Of those who did change their type of work, three moved from labouring to a trade and three from labouring to the service field, while a further three moved from sales to the trades.

The comments which the respondents made about training which they would like to receive indicated that job aspirations differed substantially from the actual deployment in the job market. Moreover, the information obtained on actual post-school training indicated a strong desire to be upwardly mobile. Looking at the Greek and Italian males combined we find that sixty of the 106 had undertaken post-school training. When this is cross-tabulated with the first job obtained after leaving school we find 50 per cent or more of those who entered the trades, clerical, sales, labouring and service areas engaged in further training. The highest proportions were in the service area (five out of seven respondents), the clerical area (two out of three) and the trades (thirty-six out of fifty-six). With the Greek and Italian females a little under 50 per cent had undertaken training—sixty-four out of 132 respondents. The only occupational category where more than 50 per cent had received training was in the service field, involving ten out of the thirteen respondents. The clerical category showed just under one-half with thirty-three of the sixty-nine, while the only other category with reasonable totals, namely sales, had eight of the 23 involved in training. Clearly many of the Greeks and Italians wished to improve their work situation either within their selected field or by moving to another field. The respondents were subsequently asked several quite specific questions about job aspirations and it is to these questions and the answers to them which we now turn.

The respondents were asked to indicate the type of work which they would like to do and their responses are set out in Table 8.1.

In Table 8.1 only those major occupations for which 3 per cent or more of all respondents opted have been included. Table 8.2 includes other types of work for which at least 3 per cent of any one group expressed an interest.

Let us examine the results inTables 8.1 and 8.2 in terms of the major categories of occupations. In the category of other professional, technical and related workers the major interest is in the minor professions where only one person was then employed as against thirty who wanted to be. However, no specific ethnic group stands out as being particularly interested in this category. In the professional category three Greek males were interested in law and three Italian males in becoming draftsmen; however, on the whole there was no great interest in this category of jobs, perhaps because the majority considered it beyond them.

In the category of administrative, executive and managerial workers there was a low level of interest among the males and an even lower level among the Italian females. Fifteen in all expressed an interest in this category although no-one was employed in these fields.

The category of clerical workers was not only a prominent one in reality, with ninety-seven having entered this field of whom ninety were females, but it was also prominent as a preferred field. A total of sixty-eight preferred this type of work of whom fifty-six were females. In all three ethnic groups fewer females wished to work in the clerical field than did in fact work in it. It seems then that many

Table 8.1: **Distribution of the sample according to the major type of work preferred (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*					
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Total*	
Type of work	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Other clerical	3	6	8	14	5	9	16	21	2	4	9	17	43	13
Machine tool makers	12	22	-	-	8	15	1	1	10	9	-	-	31	9
Other professional-technical	2	4	11	19	3	6	6	8	2	4	6	11	30	9
Artists and entertainers	4	7	7	13	5	9	9	12	2	4	1	2	28	8
Barbers and hairdressers	1	2	5	9	1	2	10	14	-	-	1	2	18	5
Stenographers and typists	-	-	4	7	-	-	10	14	-	-	4	8	18	5
Electricians	8	15	-	-	6	11	-	-	3	5	-	-	17	5
Teachers	-	-	2	3	-	-	3	4	6	11	6	11	17	5
Employers and managers	5	9	-	-	3	6	2	3	3	5	-	-	13	4
Carpenters	3	6	-	-	5	9	-	-	4	8	-	-	12	3
Sales and shop assistants	2	4	2	3	1	2	3	4	-	-	2	4	10	3
Nurses	-	-	2	3	-	-	4	5	-	-	4	8	10	3
Other	12	23	15	26	14	27	10	14	20	38	18	35	89	26
Not relevant and no reply	1	2	2	3	2	4	-	-	1	2	1	2	7	2
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100	343	100

either were entering work situations which were not of their choosing or were using such work positions as fill-in jobs while they undertook part-time training. The males, on the other hand, had slightly more wanting work in this field than the number who were actually working within it. However, when the ethnic groups are considered separately we find that it is mainly the Greek and Italian males who wished to enter this field and had not been able to do so by the time of interview. Three Greek males wanted clerical work but were not in it, while six Italian males wanted it as against three who were already in it.

There were considerable numbers actually working in the sales category, probably almost all as salespersons and shop assistants. A total of fifty-three worked in this field in their first jobs, with Italian and Anglo-Australian females comprising thirty-one of these fifty-three. As a preferred job this field appealed to only thirteen respondents and so it seems that this was another comparatively unpopular area of work where positions were relatively easy to obtain.

The occupational category comprising farmers, fishermen and other rural workers understandably included very few in actual work as the sample was city based, although there were some respondents working in gardening and horticulture. Six expressed a preference for this area, all of whom were Anglo-Australian. The category of mining did not feature at all.

Table 8.2: **Distribution of the sample according to non-major areas of preferred work (1980-81 survey)**

Type of work	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
			Percentage			
Legal profession	Males	5				
Draftsman			Males	6		
Bookkeepers					Females	6
Farmworkers					Males	6
					Females	4
Transport and communication	Females	5			Females	6
Metal workers					Males	4
Painters					Males	4
Printing and publishing					Males	4
Millers, bakers etc.			Males	4		
Fire brigade and police	Females	3			Females	6
Housekeepers and cooks					Males	4
Sportsmen					Males	4
Photographers	Males	6				

Transport and communication was a category which only three respondents had entered, two as drivers and one in the post office. However, thirteen stated a preference for this field of work and many of these were females with an interest in being an air-hostess.

The category of tradesmen, production-process workers and labourers was the one which all male groups most commonly entered. The numbers were thirty-four Greek males, thirty-five Italian males and thirty-one Anglo-Australian males. These figures, however, disguise the fact that six of the thirty-four Greeks were labourers compared with one Anglo-Australian and no Italians. Five of the Italians were storemen or packers compared with one Anglo-Australian and no Greek males. If we subtract from the above totals the number of males in each group working in unskilled work, we find that the numbers of respondents more closely related to the trades within each ethnic group are very similar. They are in fact twenty-eight, thirty and twenty-nine for the Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australians respectively. Turning to the preferred work in this category only one respondent gave labouring as a preference, so the work preferred was almost entirely in the trades. The numbers with a trades preference were twenty-five Greeks, twenty-three Italians and twenty-four Anglo-Australian. Again there is little variation between the ethnic groups and, in all three groups, the numbers preferring this field of work were fewer than the numbers actually in it by some 25 per cent. There is also remarkably little variation between groups on the actual trades preferred. Very few females were interested in this category, four in fact.

Thirty-two respondents in their initial jobs were employed in the service, sport and recreation category. Of these twelve were in hairdressing, seven were housekeepers or cooks and six were in sport and recreation. Eighteen of the thirty-two were female and so the category was fairly equally divided between the sexes. It was also fairly evenly divided between the three ethnic groups with ten Greeks, ten Italians and twelve Anglo-Australians. Contrasting this actual situation with the preferred situation, we find that the number preferring this category increases slightly to thirty-eight. The number of females increases significantly from eighteen to twenty-eight, whereas the number of males reduces from fourteen to ten. Comparing the ethnic groups, the Greek situation changes very little but the Italian situation changes substantially. Whereas four Italian males and six Italian females entered this category in their first job, only one male preferred this work as against sixteen females, ten of whom wanted to enter hairdressing. The Anglo-Australian situation is marked by a reduction from the number of males actually in this work, namely seven, to four who wish to be; however, the female figures are unchanged.

Table 8.3: **Comparison of first job and preferred job by occupational categories (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Type of work	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
			Per cent			
Professional, technical and related workers						
First job	-	2	1	-	2	1
Preferred job	7	28	13	23	12	19
Administrative executive and managerial						
First job	-	-	-	-	-	-
Preferred job	6	-	4	2	3	-
Clerical workers						
First job	-	31	3	38	4	21
Preferred job	3	13	6	27	3	16
Sales workers						
First job	8	5	7	18	2	13
Preferred job	3	2	2	3	1	2
Farmers, fishermen and hunters						
First job	1	-	1	-	2	-
Preferred job	-	-	-	-	4	2
Workers in transport and communications						
First job	2	-	1	-	-	-
Preferred job	1	3	3	2	1	3
Tradesmen and production-process workers						
First job	34	4	35	4	31	7
Preferred job	25	-	23	1	24	3
Service, sport and recreation workers						
First job	3	7	4	6	7	5
Preferred job	5	7	1	16	4	5

The Greek females were by far the most likely to be striving for jobs which they did not have, whereas all other groups were comparable in this regard. One is left wondering whether the Greek females were more ambitious than the others, or whether they had been more restricted in their education. The evidence in this study suggests the former reason as the most likely explanation.

Of the proportions in each group who were not already in the job of their choice, there was considerable variation between the groups in the degree of optimism expressed about ultimately achieving that job. The proportions who saw their chances as not very good or impossible ranged from a low of 32 per cent with the Italian males, to around 40 per cent for the Greek females and Anglo-Australian females, to 45 per cent of the Anglo-Australian males and a top of 50 per cent for both the Greek males and the Italian females, who thus seem to share the honour of being the least optimistic. Of those who saw their chances as average through to very good, however, the Greek males were the most optimistic with 50 per cent seeing their chances as very good or good and the Italian females as least optimistic with 20 per cent only at the optimistic end of the scale. There is no consistency in the responses across ethnic groups or across sex groups. Taking all into account it appears that the Greek males were fairly evenly divided along the optimism–pessimism scale while the Italian females were the most pessimistic. The Anglo-Australian males were closest to the distribution pattern of the Greek males and the Greek females were slightly further removed but still with a basically similar pattern. The Italian males and Anglo-Australian females lie between the Greek male and Italian female extremes.

Taking the sample as a whole, the most common response was that the perceived chances of obtaining the job of their choice were average (31 per cent of respondents) and close behind this was the answer of a not very good chance (27 per cent). Only 16 per cent of the total sample saw their chances as good or very good which, together with the 18 per cent who already had the job of their choice, means that one-third of the sample were either satisfied or optimistic.

These responses to the chances of obtaining the desired job have been cross-tabulated for the Greek and Italian samples combined with the variable of post-school training. With the males particularly, the respondents who were either already in the job of their choice or very optimistic about obtaining it were far more likely to have undertaken post-school training than were those who were pessimistic about their chances. There was a variation in the proportion who had trained from 33 per cent of the most pessimistic, to 45 per cent of those who rated their chances as average, to some 68 per cent of both those who rated their chances as good and those who were already in the job of their choice. With the females the same trend applied but was less marked. The proportions with further training ranged from an average 43 per cent of the pessimistic, to 50 per cent of those with average chances, to 66 per cent of those with good chances. On the other hand, the unemployment experiences of the Greek and Italian samples did not seem to affect the extent to which they were optimistic about obtaining their preferred job.

After the series of questions about what sort of work they would like to do and what they thought their chances were of getting that sort of job, the respondents were then asked:

> What sort of help would you need or what would you have to do so that you could get this kind of work?

By far the majority spoke of the need to do further study or some training course if they were to attain the job of their choice. Typical remarks were: complete the HSC, go to night school, 'go back to school and do well', do a part-time course, do a typing, computer programming, librarian, or trade course, or enter a mature age study scheme. Others realised that such training needed to be combined with a certain amount of talent, particularly in the more creative fields.

Very few of those who spoke of the need for further study specifically mentioned any financial difficulty in doing so. Among those that did was one who wished to become an occupational therapist but who could not afford to continue studying and another who wished to become a hairdresser but whose parents were unable to afford the cost of the course (stated to be in the region of $1000). The problem of insufficient finance was more likely to be mentioned by those whose ambition was to set up their own business, such as a trade, in sales, or setting up a hotel/motel.

An appreciable proportion of the respondents stated that what they needed to obtain their desired work was the right contacts, such as knowing someone in the trade, or having friends who were currently employed in the field. Another group stated that they needed to have experience behind them in order to gain the job of their choice.

Some said that they really needed to be younger if they were to enter the field that they were most interested in. This applied particularly to males who would have liked to have done a trade apprenticeship. Slightly fewer stated that the overall competition for jobs and the fact that there were insufficient jobs on the market were the reasons why there was little prospect of their obtaining their desired job. Some also realised that to be able to search for the job that they wanted and to attend

Table 8.4: Distribution of the sample according to the perceived chance of obtaining the job desired (1980-81 survey)

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Degree of chance	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Already have the job	10	19	3	5	12	23	13	18	12	23	10	20
Very good or good	11	21	14	24	9	17	6	8	9	17	6	12
Average, 50/50	11	21	19	33	18	34	25	34	14	26	19	37
Not very good	18	34	17	29	9	17	20	27	14	26	14	27
Impossible	2	3	3	5	4	7	10	13	4	8	2	4
Other and no reply	1	2	2	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

Table 8.5: Distribution of the sample according to the reason for the choice of the preferred job (1980-81 survey)

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Reason given	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Like doing that	7	13	11	19	6	12	28	38	8	15	10	19
Stimulating and interesting	4	8	9	15	14	26	6	8	11	20	9	17
Like meeting people	3	5	5	8	4	7	5	7	1	2	3	6
Money	5	9	2	4	2	4	-	-	6	11	1	2
Have talent or training for it	2	4	5	9	3	6	2	3	3	6	1	2
Prospects for promotion	1	2	6	10	1	2	1	1	3	6	3	6
Like helping people	1	2	6	10	-	-	2	3	3	6	3	6
Interested in mechanical things	8	15	-	-	4	7	-	-	2	4	-	-
Travel	-	-	2	4	1	2	7	9	-	-	2	4
Expresses creativity	4	8	2	4	3	6	2	3	-	-	-	-
Other	16	30	7	12	14	26	16	21	16	30	17	32
Not relevant and no reply	2	4	3	5	1	2	5	7	-	-	3	6
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100	53	100	52	100

interviews they would really have to leave their current employment, something that they were reluctant to do at present. One male respondent had great faith that the CES would eventually find the apprenticeship he wanted.

The respondents were then asked why they would like to obtain the job of their choice and Table 8.5 indicates the reasons most commonly advanced, with an overall response rate of more than 3 per cent. There were considerable differences between the ethnic groups in the reasons given for their choice of work. The Greek males were interested in mechanical things and in doing something which they liked, with money being of third importance. The Greek females preferred a job which they liked doing, or one that was stimulating and interesting or, in equal third place, jobs with either career prospects or with the opportunities for helping people. The Italian males were predominantly after a stimulating job, or one they liked doing or, equal third, one where they would meet people or were involved in mechanical things. The Italian females, like the Greek females but much more so, were wanting a job which they liked doing, with travel and stimulation being much less significant second and third reasons. The Anglo-Australian males selected stimulation, a job they liked doing and money in that order. The Anglo-Australian females were very like the Greek females with a job they liked doing and stimulation being most important, with career prospects, helping people and meeting people all equal third.

In all six groups a job which they liked and/or one which they found stimulating and interesting were the most important reasons for selecting a job. For the males an interest in mechanical things was another important reason, especially for the Greeks but somewhat less so for the Italians. The males were also more likely to be money oriented than the females, particularly the Greek and Anglo-Australian males. Doing what you were trained for was important for all the male groups, while meeting people was more important for the Greek and Italian males than for the Anglo-Australians

Table 8.6: **Comparison of current job with probable job in two years, Greek and Italian males (1980–81 survey)**

Current job	*Probable job in two years*					
	Prof.-tech.	*Admin.-exec.*	*Clerical*	*Sales*	*Trades*	*Labouring*
Professional-technical	1	1				
Clerical			3			
Sales			1	5	2	
Transport-communication			1			
Trades			1	2	42	2
Labouring					2	4
Service, sport etc.	1					
Total	2	1	6	7	46	6

	Service	*Armed Forces*	*Good job etc.*	*Travel*	*Study*	*Total*
Professional-technical			1			3
Clerical					1	4
Sales	1		3		1	13
Transport-communication	1		1			3
Trades		1	6	1	2	57
Labouring			3			9
Service, sport etc.	8		1			10
Total	10	1	15	1	4	99

and helping people much more important for the Anglo-Australian males than for the others. It is interesting that both the Greek and Anglo-Australian females placed career prospects high on their lists, although the Anglo-Australian males did mention it as frequently as their female counterparts. Helping people was a significant reason for the Greek females and for both of the Anglo-Australian groupings. Finally, it is interesting to note than an opportunity to express creativity was of some importance for Greeks and Italians but not at all for Anglo-Australians.

As a final question in relation to job aspirations, the respondents were asked to say what they thought they would be doing in two years' time. These responses have been cross-tabulated with the current job and Table 8.6 gives the results of this. From this table it can be seen that of those ninety-nine Greek and Italian males who had a current job, sixty-three expected to be still in that type of work in two years' time. The biggest movement was out from the trades area in a variety of directions. Over half of the current labourers expected to improve their situation, as did over half of those currently in sales. So, although some 40 per cent expected to change their type of work, there were no predominant directions for this change.

In the case of the females we find a higher proportion intending to change their occupation, namely just over 50 per cent or fifty-three of 115 respondents. This higher rate than for the males is partly accounted for by the eight respondents who intended to become housewives (see Table 8.7). Only two work categories show a reasonable retention rate—the professional–technical category with three in four staying and the service–sport category with six in nine intending to stay. Large proportions intended to have moved out of all other categories. Eight intended to be studying, twice as many as among the males and three intended to enter the professional–technical category as compared with only one male. The biggest proportion, however, as with the males, could not specify the jobs into which they would move. In other words, they wanted to change jobs but had either not the confidence or the sense of direction to indicate the type of work into which they would move. Given that these respondents were able to indicate what they preferred, as we have already seen and that many were pessimistic about achieving their preference, it is most likely that we have a situation where quite a few respondents were not satisfied with their current jobs, intended to move out of them but could not say with any certainty to what jobs they would move.

8.2 Generational change

In the introductory chapters it was pointed out that the majority of both Greek and Italian families migrating to Australia during the 1950s and 1960s came from rural backgrounds. Their motivation in coming to Australia was frequently economic and often included a desire to provide their children with educational and occupational opportunities which had been denied to themselves. If the move to Australia was indeed a successful one in the eyes of these people, one would expect to find substantial differences between parents and children in terms of education and occupational histories. However, we must remember that our sample consists entirely of young people who left school to enter the workforce. Many of their generation in reality went on into tertiary training, thus making the distinctions between themselves and their parents even greater.

Let us look then at the contrasts between our sample of young people and their parents, starting with the length of schooling. Table 8.8 shows the average number of years schooling in Australia for each of our groups. It must be remembered that the figures for the sample relate only to schooling in Australia. The Greek males, with the largest proportion of overseas born, had an additional average of 1.3 years of schooling in Greece so that their overall average for years at school is 11.1 years. The other Greek and Italian figures change only marginally as a result of including schooling overseas so that there is very little variation between the groups. The average length of schooling, after adjusting the Greek males figure, is 11.4 years.

The average number of years schooling of the parents, which includes tertiary education in the few cases where this applied, is also shown in Table 8.8. A comparison of the figures for the sample and the parents makes it clear that the younger generation had received substantially more schooling by

Table 8.7: **Comparison of current job by probable job in two years Greek and Italian females (1980-81 survey)**

Current job	*Probable job in two years*					
	Prof.-tech.	*Admin.-exec.*	*Clerical*	*Sales*	*Trades*	*Labouring*
Professional-technical	3					
Clerical	3	1	41	1	1	
Sales			3	5		
Trades				1	1	1
Labouring			1			
Service, sport etc.						
Total	6	1	45	7	2	1
	Service	*Good job etc.*	*Travel*	*Study*	*Housewife*	*Total*
Professional-technical		1				4
Clerical	5	9		5	6	72
Sales	3	6	1		1	19
Trades		3		2		8
Labouring		1		1		3
Service, sport etc.	6	2		1		9
Total	14	22	1	8	8	115

Table 8.8: **Average number of years of schooling among males and females in the sample, including only schooling in Australia and of their mothers and fathers (1980-81 survey)**

Category	*Sample*	*Mothers*	*Fathers*
		Average number of years	
Greek males	9.8	5.6	5.0
Greek females	11.6	4.9	6.0
Italian males	11.7	5.5	5.6
Italian females	11.3	4.5	4.7
Anglo-Australian males	11.3	9.0	8.6
Anglo-Australian females	11.5	8.2	7.9

this stage than their fathers had. In the case of the Greeks and Italians it is approximately double the length of schooling or more. For the Anglo-Australians the difference is not so great. We must bear in mind, however, that a number of these young people were doing and would go on to do, more part-time education so that the final differences between the children and their fathers in terms of total years of schooling is likely to be somewhat greater than those shown. The average length of schooling of the mothers does not differ greatly from that of the fathers for both the Italians and Anglo-Australian. While it varies more for the Greeks the variation is in both directions and thus tends to cancel out.

The reality of the variation in the length of schooling and of the contrast between the rural environment of most of the parents and the urban environment of their children will contribute to a difference in the occupations pursued by the two generations. As was pointed out earlier, a large

Table 8.9: **Occupations of the mothers of the sample before arrival in Australia (1980-81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Farmers	7	4	16	8	4	8	5	7
Farm workers	3	6	-	-	4	8	5	7
Tailors	4	7	4	7	3	5	4	5
Factory workers	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	3
Housewives	26	49	18	31	14	26	38	51
Other	4	7	7	12	9	7	7	9
Not known or mother born in Australia etc.	8	15	11	9	18	4	13	8
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

proportion of the females in all three ethnic groups entered the clerical area with the next most common area being sales. If bookkeeping is added to the above two areas we find 62 per cent of the Greek females, 76 per cent of the Italian females and 65 per cent of the Anglo-Australian females worked in these three areas combined. Let us compare this situation with the work experience of the mothers, both in the country of origin for the Greeks and Italians and in terms of their most recent job for all three groups. In Table 8.9, showing occupations prior to arrival in Australia, there are quite large proportions of mothers who were not in the workforce—nearly 30 per cent of the total. A further large proportion were farm workers either on the family farm or employed as farm larbourers. An average of 13 per cent were employed in this field. Very small numbers had worked in the type of work which their daughters were entering.

Once in Australia the situations of these mothers changed (see Table 8.10). A higher proportion were in the workforce than was true in their home country and, for those who worked in both countries, the type of work had changed. Factory work was the most common, being open to women with often little English and limited schooling. Labouring probably also represents factory work. In the case of the Greek and Italian samples, the areas of work which the daughters tended to be occupying were not common areas among the mothers.

The situation with the Anglo-Australians was a little different, as we would expect (see Table 8.11). Far fewer of the Anglo-Australian mothers were factory workers, labourers (one) or cleaners (one), while more were in the clerical area, so common among their daughters. Also, the Anglo-Australian mothers were more likely to be housewives than were the Greeks, but the Anglo-Australian rate was approximately the same as that of the Italians in this regard. However, only four of these Anglo-Australian mothers were in the professional area and five in the trades, which was fewer than with the Greek and Italian mothers. Indeed, with the trades as such, excluding the process-worker occupations, the numbers were sixteen Greek mothers, eighteen Italian mothers and two Anglo-Australian mothers. For whatever reasons, it seems that the mothers of Greek and Italian origin were more likely to enter trade areas than were the Anglo-Australian mothers, despite their fewer years of schooling. This may mean that the former group were likely to encourage occupational mobility among their daughters and there is some evidence for this in the data on preferred jobs, particularly for the Greek girls and in relation to the professional, technical and related workers category. Returning to the question of comparisons between the generations, we can conclude that the contrast between the two Anglo-Australian generations was not as great as with the Italians and Greeks, especially in the clerical area, where some 14 per cent of Anglo-Australian mothers were working, as against no Greeks and only two per cent of the Italian mothers and in the most unskilled area, where quite a few Italian and Greek mothers were working, as against very few of the Anglo-Australian mothers.

Table 8.10: Most recent occupation in Australia of the mothers of the sample Greek and Italian only (1980–81 survey)

	Greek				Italian			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Factory	15	29	25	43	13	24	24	32
Tailors	5	10	6	10	3	6	10	4
Sales	4	8	2	3	7	13	4	5
Housekeepers, cooks	1	2	1	2	4	8	2	3
Labourers	7	4	3	6	-	-	1	1
Clerical	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	1
Food and drink workers	–	–	2	3	2	4	3	4
Cleaners	2	4	3	6	–	–	1	1
Housewives	11	1	9	15	13	24	15	20
Other	6	2	5	9	4	8	13	8
Not known or born in Australia	–	–	2	3	6	11	1	1
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

Table 8.11: Most recent occupation of the mothers of the sample Anglo-Australian only (1980–81 survey)

	Anglo-Australian Males		*Anglo-Australian Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Factory	3	6	7	13
Clerical	3	6	4	8
Stenographers & typists	4	7	2	4
Housekeepers, cooks	3	6	1	2
Housewives	17	32	11	21
Other	7	13	13	25
Not known or not applicable	16	30	14	27
Total	53	100	52	100

Let us consider now the situation of the males in the two generations. With regard to the first job after leaving school, the Anglo-Australian males were very widely distributed, although metal work absorbed some 15 per cent. The Italian males were less widely distributed with some 21 per cent in metal work, 13 per cent in sales and 9 per cent in carpentry, the rest were fairly widely spread. The Greek males had 15 per cent in sales, 13 per cent in metal work, 11 per cent in labouring and 9 per cent in the electrical trade with 8 per cent in apprenticeships. Let us contrast this situation of the Greek and Italian males with the occupations of the fathers, looking firstly at the situation back in Greece and Italy.

From Table 8.12 the rural backgrounds of these families is immediately apparent. While many were farmers, substantial numbers were tradesmen who were probably working mainly in rural settings or small towns. Very few were factory workers. Let us now contrast this with the occupations which these men took up in Australia, shown in Table 8.13. The Greek fathers were fairly heavily

Table 8.12: **Occupations of the fathers of the sample before arrival in Australia (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Farmers	22	42	20	34	15	28	28	38
Farm workers	5	9	1	2	4	8	3	4
Bricklayers and construction workers	6	11	1	2	–	–	6	8
Labourers	1	2	3	5	5	9	3	4
Factory workers	1	2	1	2	3	6	2	3
Carpenters	–	–	4	7	1	2	3	4
Millers, bakers, etc.	4	7	–	–	1	2	2	3
Tailors	2	4	1	2	2	4	2	3
Electricians, etc.	1	2	2	3	3	5	1	1
Machine toolmakers	–	–	2	3	1	2	2	3
Drivers	–	–	1	2	–	–	3	4
Cooks	1	2	–	–	2	4	2	2
Other	8	15	11	19	10	19	13	18
Not known or father born in Australia, etc.	2	4	11	19	6	11	4	5
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

Table 8.13: **Most recent occupation in Australia of the fathers of the sample, Greek and Italian only (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*			
	Males		*Females*		*Males*		*Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Factory workers	10	9	11	19	7	13	13	18
Labourers	8	15	6	10	5	9	8	11
Sales and shopkeepers	5	9	4	7	4	7	3	4
Drivers	2	4	6	10	1	2	5	7
Machine toolmakers	3	6	8	14	2	4	3	4
Bricklayers and construction workers	1	2	–	–	4	7	11	5
Electricians etc.	3	6	1	2	3	6	–	–
Metal workers	2	4	2	3	3	6	–	–
Millers, bakers etc.	3	6	1	2	–	–	1	1
Cleaners	4	7	3	5	–	–	1	1
Farmers etc.	–	–	–	–	1	2	4	5
Other	8	15	13	3	22	2	23	31
Not known or not applicable	4	7	3	5	1	2	2	3
Total	53	100	58	100	53	100	74	100

Table 8.14: **Most recent occupation of the fathers of the sample, Anglo-Australians only (1980–81 survey)**

	Anglo-Australian			
	Males		*Females*	
Type of work	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Drivers	7	13	1	2
Sales	2	4	4	7
Other clerical	1	2	5	10
Machine toolmakers	–	–	4	7
Storemen	3	5	1	2
Electricians etc.	3	5	1	–
Bricklayers and construction workers	1	2	2	4
Millers, bakers etc.	1	2	2	4
Factory workers	1	2	2	4
Fire brigade, police etc.	1	2	2	4
Other	17	32	8	15
Not known	4	8	2	4
Not applicable	12	3	19	37
Total	53	100	52	100

concentrated in the factory worker and labouring area, where nearly one-third were working. Shopkeepers and drivers made up about 8 per cent each and the trades area comprised some 21 per cent of the total. A small number was distributed through the other occupational areas. The next generation saw a larger proportion moving into the trades and fewer in labouring. However, while the proportions vary the major areas of distribution were not as dissimilar as was the case with the females.

The Italian fathers were less likely to be factory workers or labourers than were the Greek fathers, as in fact were also their sons compared with the Greek sons. They were also less likely to be in sales or working as drivers. The difference, however, was not made up in the major trades area where the proportion was the same as for the Greeks, namely 21 per cent. Rather it lay in the proportion distributed in the other occupations, of which the most prominent were the categories of leather cutters, furnacemen, potters and service, sport and recreation, with four fathers in each of these categories. The main distribution of these others then is largely among the minor trades, with only two in the professional and technical category, two in the administrative–executive category and five in transport and communication other than as drivers. The sons' occupations were not then so dissimilar from their fathers' occupations in Australia. The concentration for both was in the trades area followed by sales and then service, sport and recreation. The one significant difference was in the proportion of the older generation involved in general factory work and labouring so, as with the Greeks, there was a mobility among the sons into more skilled areas but these were still predominantly within the trades.

The Anglo-Australian situation was a little different from that of the Greeks and Italians. The results are affected, however, by the large proportion for whom no answer was given (29 per cent). This is presumably due in part to the 18 per cent of one-parent households among the Anglo-Australians but there is still 11 per cent unaccounted for. Bearing this in mind, the fathers for whom we do have information reveal a considerable diversity in their distribution among those occupations where three or more were working (see Table 8.14).

The diversity among the Anglo-Australian fathers was far greater than it was among the Greek and Italian fathers, both in those occupations listed and among the others. The twenty-five 'other' included five professional and technical, one administrative and executive, three transport and

Table 8.15: **Occupational contrast between fathers and the males in the sample by ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

Major occupational groupings	*Greek*				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Fathers (Most recent job in Australia)		*Sons (First job after school)*		*Fathers (Most recent job in Australia)*		*Sons (First job after school)*		*Fathers (Most recent job in Australia)*		*Sons (First job after school)*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Professional-technical	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	2	5	7	2	4
Administrative-executive	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-
Clerical	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	6	8	4	8
Sales	9	8	8	17	7	5	7	13	7	10	2	4
Farmers	1	1	1	2	5	4	1	2	1	1	3	6
Miners	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport and communication	12	11	2	4	11	9	1	2	11	15	-	-
Tradesmen *(a)*	31	29	23	48	45	36	27	52	20	27	27	53
Factory workers, labourers *(a)*	39	36	11	23	41	33	8	14	10	14	4	8
Service, sport, etc.	12	11	3	6	10	8	4	8	6	8	7	13
Armed Forces	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
Not known	4	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	6	8	-	-
Total	108	100	48	100	124	100	52	100	74	100	51	100

(a) Includes the main trades, e.g. clothing, metal work, electricians, carpenters, painters, builders, bakers, etc. Excludes the items listed under *(b)*.

(b) Includes: chemical, sugar and paper production-process; tobacco products; paper, rubber and plastic products; packers; stationary engine operators; storemen; labourers; factory workers and machinists.

communications excluding drivers, seven in other trades and three in service, sport and recreation. This greater diversity among the Anglo-Australian fathers was also present in the next generation where we saw a wide distribution between the occupations. However, the generations do differ in that the younger generation had fewer working in the clerical area (four as against six), fewer in transport and communication (none as against eleven) and significantly more in the trades with thirty-one as against twenty. While some of these boys may eventually move into the professional and administrative areas, at the stage of first job they were somewhat more concentrated than the fathers and concentrated predominantly in the area of the trades.

Table 8.15 shows the contrasts between the two generations of males for whom we have occupational data. The major category, tradesmen and production-process workers, has been divided between tradesmen and the other component of labourers and factory workers to represent better the transition between generations. This table reveals the considerable similarities between the Greek and Italian patterns, with the Italians slightly up the scale for both generations but showing similarities with the Greeks when the contrasts in the situations of the two generations are compared. The Anglo-Australians varied from the other two groups both in the contrast between the generations—in the trades and service–sport areas in particular—and in the actual distribution in the categories of sales, farmers, service-sport and armed forces.

In the case of the females, as with the males, there were similarities between the Greeks and Italians, with again the Greek first generation being more skewed towards the unskilled situation than were the Italians. The generational contrasts were also similar in the moves of the daughters into clerical and sales categories and in the fewer numbers in the trades and service categories. These differences are more significant when it is recalled that the first generation had a much higher proportion of unskilled in these areas than had the second generation. There was, therefore, considerable upward mobility among both the Greek and Italian second generation females (see Table 8.16).

By contrast the Anglo-Australian mothers had already significant numbers in clerical work and fewer in the trades, sales and service categories than had the others. Their daughters, however, were more likely to have entered the trades than were the Greek and Italian daughters and less likely to have entered the clerical field. The overall trends in the generational contrasts of the females are reasonably similar in all three ethnic groups, but distinguished by the older generation of Anglo-Australians starting at a significantly higher level than the other two groups of mothers (see Table 8.17).

Table 8.16: **Occupational contrast between mothers and the females in the sample by ethnic group (1980–81 survey)**

	Greek				*Italian*				*Anglo-Australian*			
	Mothers		*Daughters*		*Mothers*		*Daughters*		*Mothers*		*Daughters*	
Occupation	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Professional-technical	2	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	4	5	4	8
Administrative-executive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clerical	-	-	31	63	2	2	38	58	15	20	21	4
Sales	6	5	5	10	11	9	18	27	4	5	13	27
Transport and Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-
Trades	73	68	4	8	63	54	4	6	16	21	7	15
Service	7	7	7	15	13	11	6	9	6	8	3	6
Housewife	20	18	-	-	28	24	-	-	28	38	-	-
Total	108	100	49	100	117	100	66	100	75	100	48	100

Table 8.17: **Number of males in the northern and eastern suburban samples (1980–81 survey)**

Area	*Greeks*	*Italian*	*Anglo-Australians*
Northern area	32	20	28
Eastern area	21	33	25
Total	53	53	53

8.3 A Comparison between the northern and eastern suburban samples

When the sampling methods for the study were devised it was decided to draw the sample from two geographical areas in Melbourne which were believed to be somewhat different from each other both in terms of the type of immigrant settler and their general socio-economic characteristics. The first area comprised a group of northern suburbs where it was believed many southern European immigrants had initially settled after their arrival and/or where many had purchased their first house. In addition, it was an older area of Melbourne with many houses of comparatively poor quality and schools lacking many of the modern facilities. By contrast, the second area was a selection of eastern suburbs of more recent development, better quality homes and more modern schools. Many southern European and other immigrant families had moved into this area as they became more affluent with increasing length of residence in Australia and there they were joined by young couples of immigrant origin who were purchasing their first house.

In this section the intention is to see whether the samples from these two areas differed from each other to any great extent. In contrasting the two areas we shall consider the males and females separately and we shall refer to the two areas as the northern and eastern areas. Table 8.17 shows the number of males in the samples drawn from the two areas.

The data in Table 8.18 show that the northern area was the one where there was a larger proportion of Greeks and Italians who were born outside Australia. Also from Table 8.18 we can see that the Greeks and Italians in the northern suburbs were more involved in visits to the homeland, again suggesting that they were the more recently arrived groups with stronger ties to the country of origin.

As one would predict, the fact that the respondents in the northern area were part of families more recently arrived in Australia had an effect on comparative linguistic abilities and on attendance at classes in both the native language and English. Although the great majority of males had at least reasonable fluency in the language of origin, those few who spoke it poorly or not at all were to be found almost entirely in the eastern area. For the Greeks the relevant proportions are none in the northern area and 10 per cent in the eastern area; for the Italians, 5 per cent in the northern and 18 per cent in the eastern area. Despite their greater ability in the native language it was the respondents in the northern area who were most likely to have studied Greek or Italian in Australia. Eighty-four per cent of the Greek respondents in the northern region had studied Greek as against 67 per cent of those in the eastern area, while 65 per cent of the Italians in the northern area had studied Italian as against 39 per cent in the eastern area. This suggests that the motivation for such study relates not so much to any major difficulty with the language but to a stronger sense of Greek identity.

The more recent arrival in Australia of the respondents in the northern region, possibly reinforced by a stronger ethnic community and other factors, has led apparently to an inferior knowledge of English among these respondents compared with those in the eastern areas. The comparative figures are again set out in Table 8.18. If we compare the proportions of both Greeks and Italians in each area who had a very good knowledge of English with those who had a basic knowledge only, the superiority of those in the eastern region is quite clear.

One possible indication of ethnic identity is the selection of friends, with the common assumption being that those with a strong sense of ethnic identity are likely to have a considerable proportion of their friends from the same ethnic group. If the respondents in the northern suburbs are closer to their ethnic origins we could anticipate higher proportions of ethnic friends there than in the eastern area. Table 8.19 sets out the differences.

Table 8.19 reflects to some degree the demographic differences between the two areas, as is revealed most clearly in the Anglo-Australian results. The northern area is far more an immigrant area than the other and the friendship groups reflect this. The Greek and Italian results show a clear difference between the areas and these may also reflect the demographic situation, but they may also be related to the ethnic identity issue, in that a mostly Australian response is very uncommon for all, except for the Italian males in the eastern area. In the eastern area friend networks are more likely to include Australians.

Table 8.18: **Birthplace and language characteristics of Greek and Italian males in the northern and eastern areas (1980–81 survey)**

Characteristic	*Greeks*		*Italians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent			
Place of birth				
Greece/Italy	62	43	25	15
Australia	38	57	75	85
Visits to Greece/Italy since arrival in Australia				
Have visited	41	29	55	46
Have not visited	59	62	45	52
Not stated	–	9	–	2
English language ability				
Thorough knowledge	22	38	35	57
Factual knowledge	34	52	40	30
Basic knowledge	44	–	10	9
Not stated	–	10	15	4
Total (for each set of categories)	100	100	100	100

Table 8.19: **Ethnicity of friends of the males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Ethnicity of friends	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent					
All or mostly Greek-Italian	41	5	35	15	–	–
All or mostly of immigrant origin	6	14	30	9	4	–
Mixed immigrant origin and Australian	47	76	30	52	57	8
Mostly Australian	3	5	5	21	35	92
No response etc.	3	–	–	3	4	–
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.20: **Years of schooling in Australia of males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

	Greeks		Italians		Anglo-Australians	
Years of Schooling	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
9 or less	31	23	-	3	4	-
10–11	47	48	35	30	57	60
12 or more	22	29	65	67	39	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.21: **Year of schooling reached by males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

	Greeks		Italians		Anglo-Australians	
Level reached	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Year 8	6	-	-	-	-	-
Year 9	16	5	-	6	4	4
Year 10	22	28	40	12	10	48
Year 11	44	43	35	61	82	44
Year 12	12	24	25	21	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.22: **Level of schooling passed by males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

	Greeks		Italians		Anglo-Australians	
Level of schooling passed	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Below Leaving	46	24	40	21	21	64
Sat Leaving & failed	10	5	-	12	11	4
Passed Leaving	28	48	45	52	57	24
Sat TOP & failed	3	9	-	- 7	-	
Passed TOP	-	14	5	3	-	4
Sat HSC & failed	10	-	-	6	4	4
Passed HSC	3	-	10	6	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The final data relating to the ethnicity issue are those on the language spoken in the homes of the respondents. Here, however, there is very little difference between the areas in the case of the Greeks. Some 10 per cent more in the northern area than in the eastern area speak Greek to their parents and others and English with their siblings, suggesting that Greek parents in the northern area are somewhat less likely to be bilingual. The Italian differences are more striking. Thirty-five per cent of the Italian males in the northern area always spoke Italian at home as compared with 6 per cent in the eastern area. This is partly compensated for by a higher proportion in the eastern area than in the northern area speaking Italian with their parents and English with their siblings. The comparative figures here are northern area 35 per cent and eastern area 52 per cent. A slightly higher proportion in the eastern area speak mostly English at home—36 per cent as against 30 per cent in the northern area.

Let us turn now to the details of the schooling experience of the male respondents in the two geographical areas. Table 8.20 shows the situation regarding years of schooling.

The control group of Anglo-Australians shows almost no variation between the two areas. Nor does the Italian sample. The Greeks, however, have a 7 per cent difference with a small additional number leaving school earlier in the northern area and a lower number attending for 12 years or more. However, the contrasts between the ethnic groups are the striking ones, rather than the contrasts between areas.

Table 8.21 shows the level of schooling reached in terms of school Year. Here it can be seen that the Greek males in the eastern area are more likely to have reached higher levels of schooling. The same is true of the Italians, with a 20 per cent higher figure in the eastern area of those reaching Years 11 or 12 and a much lower figure reaching only Year 10. The control group of Anglo-Australians shows a rather different situation with a much higher number leaving at Year 10 in the eastern area and a correspondingly lower number in Year 11. This may suggest that, for the immigrants, there are significant differences between the areas relating to integration patterns, while the control group is influenced by different factors, such as youth disillusionment.

The final indication of school achievement is in the level passed and the data on this are set out in Table 8.22. The early leavers among the Greek and Italian respondents are reflected in the 'Below Leaving' group and here the difference between the areas is maintained with about double the number of poor achievers in the northern area. But again that situation is reversed in the Anglo-Australian control group. In the 'Passed Leaving' category the eastern region again shows better results among the Greeks and Italians but the reverse in the control group. The higher level figures are possibly influenced by a high proportion of successful HSC students proceeding to further full-time study, particularly among those resident in the eastern suburbs and among the Anglo-Australian samples in both areas. Certainly we cannot simply conclude that more in the northern area pass the HSC. Overall the data on schooling suggest that, for the two immigrant groups, the areas are different, with the respondents in the northern areas, for whatever reasons, being less successful in their schooling in the sense that they are more likely to leave earlier with lower standards having been successfully completed.

On the question of parental attitudes towards schooling it was the Greek and Italian respondents in the eastern area who were the more likely to say that their parents had negative views of the schools. This is surprising in one way given the older facilities in the northern schools; on the other hand, it is likely that the northern schools have taken the immigrant issue more seriously, are more open to immigrant parents and are catering better for their childrens' needs. The respective figures on parents with negative views are:

Greeks:	northern area 44%	eastern 57%
Italians:	northern area 15%	eastern 24%

However, the Anglo-Australian control group shows the opposite outcome and the one more in keeping with an outsider's fairly superficial assessment of the differences between the schools in the two areas. Fifty per cent of the parents in the northern area had negative views as against only 8 per cent of those in the eastern area.

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The respondents were asked to say what their mothers, fathers and teachers had wanted them to do in relation to further study or work. In the case of mothers' attitudes the only group to show a difference between the areas was the Greeks. The mothers in the northern area were some 25 per cent more likely to strongly encourage further study and less likely to leave the decision to the boy. In the case of the fathers' attitudes the situation with the Greek fathers was almost identical to what it was with the Greek mothers. However, while Italian fathers also showed a difference between the areas, it was in the opposite direction to that of the Greeks. The Italian fathers in the eastern area were some 14 per cent more likely to have encouraged further study than were the fathers in the northern suburbs, who were more likely to leave the decision to the boy. With the Anglo-Australians the fathers in the eastern suburbs were 21 per cent more likely than the fathers in the northern area to have encouraged their sons to go to work. However, the Anglo-Australian fathers in the northern suburbs were 15 per cent more likely to leave the decision to the boys, which is the opposite trend to that seen among the Greeks and Italians.

The attitudes attributed to teachers are seen to vary between areas only in the case of the Greeks and the difference there is striking. The proportion of Greek respondents in the eastern suburbs who saw their teachers as encouraging them to study further was 29 per cent which is similar to the corresponding figures for the other two ethnic groups. In the northern suburbs the percentage drops to 9 per cent, whereas it is slightly higher than the eastern area figures for the other two groups. The difference is made up by the staggering 38 per cent of Greeks in the northern area who saw their teachers as not caring. It seems, therefore, that it is the Greek respondents in the northern suburbs who predominantly see themselves as being either ignored at school or, alternatively, discriminated against. This finding is not consistent with the attitudes of the Greek parents towards the schools in the two areas for there it was the parents in the eastern suburbs who were the more negative.

The data derived from the question on why the respondents left school show some variation between the areas and these data are set out in Table 8.23. Only those reasons which reveal substantial differences are listed in this table. The figures indicate a fairly complex situation with no really clear trends. The Greeks in the eastern area are more motivated by a desire to do vocational training than by any other reason, while the reasons among the northern area respondents are not very much at all in that direction and are very varied, but generally they tend to be negative reactions to schools. This is consistent with lower levels of achievement in the northern area and negative views of the teaching staff. The Italian situation does not show very much variation between the areas, with the greatest difference being the numbers not happy at school. The Anglo-Australian group shows again this strong tendency in the eastern area to be negative. Nearly 50 per cent leave because they are simply tired of school and study, which is consistent with the possibility of disillusionment mentioned earlier.

On the question of leaving school at the end of the year or part-way through we find the Italians and Anglo-Australians similar, with the possibility of leaving school part-way through being 15 and 11 per cent higher in these two ethnic groups among the eastern area respondents. Among the Greek respondents, however, the situation was reversed with 34 per cent in the northern area leaving part-way through compared with 14 per cent in the eastern area.

The variable of post-school training shows higher proportions in all three ethnic groups within the northern area as less likely to have undertaken post-school training. The detailed data are in Table 8.24. This table shows that it is the Greek males in the northern region who are by far the least likely to have done any post-school training, which is again consistent with the overall situation of the Greek males in that area. And, as we would expect, it is all groups in the eastern suburbs who are more likely to have followed the major male pursuit of trade-technical training, but once again it is among the Greeks that the difference between the areas is so striking. The Greeks in the eastern suburbs are both more highly motivated and in fact higher achievers.

Respondents were questioned on their knowledge of several available sources of vocational and employment assistance. These were the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES), employment agencies, youth employment schemes, public service exams and the *Age* job market. In relation to

Table 8.23: **Reasons for leaving school given by males by area of residence (1980-81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Reason for leaving school	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Wanted to do vocational training	6	33	20	24	7	4
Was not clever enough	13	14	10	18	7	4
Wanted to get a job	19	10	5	6	10	8
Tired of school and study	19	14	25	18	7	48
Not happy at school	13	10	10	-	4	4
Harder to get a job later	6	-	15	10	36	28
Other	24	19	15	24	29	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.24: **Post-school training of males by area of residence (1980-81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Post-school training	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
None	63	24	45	36	36	28
Leaving or HSC	9	9	-	-	7	4
Trade-technical training	19	48	35	40	43	48
Other trade training	6	14	10	9	11	12
No response etc.	3	5	10	15	3	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

the CES there were no differences between the areas. The relevant percentages of those who did not know about this and the other four sources are shown in Table 8.25. The Greeks in the northern suburbs were, in relation to all sources, more ignorant of the various sources of information and assistance relating to employment, particularly in relation to the new initiatives taken by the government to facilitate youth employment. The Italian respondents in the two areas varied very little from each other, revealing the Greeks again to be the ones at a disadvantage. However, the Anglo-Australian control group shows the eastern area as less knowledgable about *The Age* job market and the public service exams but more knowledgable about the employment agencies and the youth employment schemes. It seems then, that one cannot differentiate clearly between the two areas except in relation to the Greeks, where the migration component is probably the relevant factor.

The data on the initial job obtained after leaving school do not reveal much difference between the two areas. Among the Greeks and Italians there are a few more labourers in the northern area than in the eastern area and more in the trades in the eastern area but the differences are not great. Similarly there is little difference between the Anglo-Australians in the two areas.

In the responses on how they had obtained their initial job, the respondents in the two areas did not vary a great deal nor was there any consistency in the variation. There was no difference in the role of kin and friendship help among the Greeks (37 to 38 per cent); among the Italians the respondents in the northern area were more likely to be helped by kin than the respondents in the eastern area by 70 per cent to 42 per cent; while among the Anglo-Australians, those in the eastern area were more assisted by kin—52 per cent compared to 36 per cent in the northern area. The CES was the next most common source of assistance but again the Greeks in the two areas were almost identical, while the Italians in the eastern area were more likely to have used the CES, but among the Anglo-Australians it was those in the northern area who were most likely to have done so.

When asked, however, whether the employer in the first job fell into the category of relative, parent or friend, the Greeks and Italians in the northern area were at least twice as likely to reply in the affirmative, while the Anglo-Australians showed no difference. The responses to this question are set out in Table 8.26. Both the Greeks and the Italians in the eastern area were more likely to find employment with 'other Australians', which simply reflects the demographic composition of the two areas to some degree. However, the Anglo-Australian figures suggest that the immigrant kin groups in the northern region may play a more significant role in accounting for the difference between the areas than the demographic differences.

Table 8.25: **Ignorance of various sources of employment assistance among males by area of residence (1980-81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Source of assistance	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
CES	3	-	5	-	-	-
Other employment agencies	94	86	80	79	93	68
Youth employment schemes	87	62	55	58	71	64
Public service exams	44	38	20	21	18	36
Age job market	12	5	10	6	-	20

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Table 8.26: **Relationship and ethnicity of employer in initial job of males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Type of relationship	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Relative, parent or friend	19	9	50	18	7	8
Other Greek/Italian	19	5	5	12	–	–
Other non-Australian	9	5	10	12	4	20
Other Australian	47	67	35	55	79	68
No response etc.	6	14	–	3	10	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.27: **Job aspirations of males by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Work category	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Professional	13	14	30	21	25	20
Admin-Exec	16	5	15	3	4	8
Clerical	6	5	20	6	10	–
Sales	3	9	–	6	–	4
Farmers etc.	–	–	–	–	7	8
Transport etc.	3	–	–	9	4	–
Trades	47	43	35	49	50	40
Labourers	3	–	–	–	–	–
Service	3	19	–	3	–	16
Good job etc.	3	5	–	3	–	4
Student	3	–	–	–	–	–
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The job aspirations of the respondents in the two areas are set out in Table 8.27. If the professional and administrative-executive positions are added together, it is clear that among the two immigrant groups the respondents in the northern area are the more ambitious, with the Anglo-Australians showing no difference. Although the numbers are small, the northern area also favours aspirations towards the sales and service categories. There is considerable variation in the trades category but there is no uniformity in the figures presented. On the whole, it cannot be stated with real support that the job aspirations of the male respondents in the two areas vary from each other significantly.

However, on the question of their perception of their chances of obtaining the job of their choice, the respondents in the two areas do vary. Table 8.28 shows that the respondents in the eastern suburbs were far more likely in all groups to have already obtained the job of their choice. At the other end of the scale, the northern respondents were much more likely to be pessimists about their

Table 8.28: **Perceived chances of obtaining the desired job stated by males by area of residence (1980-81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Degree of chance of obtaining job	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Already have it	9	33	15	27	11	36
Very good, good	22	19	15	18	25	8
Average, 50/50	25	14	40	31	25	28
Not very good	38	29	20	15	32	20
Impossible	6	-	10	6	7	8
No response etc.	-	5	-	3	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.29: **Number of females in the northern and eastern suburban samples**

Area	*Greek*	*Italians*	*Anglo-Australians*
Northern area	33	36	27
Eastern area	25	38	25
Total	58	74	52

Table 8.30: **Ability of females to speak Greek/Italian by area of residence (1980-81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*	
Degree of ability	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
		Per cent		
Very well	12	36	25	29
Well	30	32	39	42
Basic knowledge	46	24	20	13
Poorly	6	4	14	5
Not at all	-	-	-	8
No response etc.	6	4	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100

chances of ever obtaining the job of their choice and again this is true in all three ethnic groups. While the optimistic group is the larger among the eastern respondents, these figures should be added to the figures of those already holding the job of their choice. This establishes clearly how much better off in their own eyes are the respondents in the eastern suburbs, especially among the Greeks where there is a difference of 21 per cent.

Turning to the educational levels of the parents, the figures reveal only minor differences between the Greek parents in the two areas, but very considerable differences between the Italian and Anglo-Australian parents, with those in the eastern suburbs having a much higher proportion with higher secondary school levels of education. These figures suggest that the movement of some of the Greeks to the eastern suburbs may be related to a greater capacity to work hard and so on, but is not related to higher educational levels. On the other hand, the better educated Italian and Anglo-Australian parents are to be found in the eastern suburbs. This is also reflected in the occupational levels of the fathers. The comparatively small numbers in the administrative and sales categories are almost all eastern suburb fathers, although there are no clear differences in the total occupational distribution pattern.

To summarise, among the males we find that there are differences between the two areas from which the sample was drawn. The differences are not uniform and suggest that factors pertaining to the socio-economic natures of the areas are interacting. The Greek differences between the areas seem more likely to be related to their immigrant status than do the Italian differences and are understandably more marked than among the Italians, while the Anglo-Australian contrasts relate to socio-economic differences between the areas and hence are sometimes quite distinct from the other two groups.

Females in the Northern and Eastern Suburbs

The numbers of females in the sample who were resident in the northern and eastern suburbs are set out in Table 8.29. The numbers of the females who had been born outside Australia were small. However, it is interesting to note that the Italian overseas-born were equally divided between the two areas, with eleven and ten in the north and east respectively, while the Greek overseas-born in the eastern suburbs were double those in the north, with twelve and six respectively. This is the reverse of what was expected and the opposite of the situation with the males. It is also a factor which might have a considerable effect on the area differences relating to the other variables.

As with the males, higher proportions of the respondents in the northern suburbs had been on trips to Greece or Italy which suggests that, despite the small percentage of the daughters in the northern suburbs being born in Australia, their families may retain stronger ties with their homeland than those families living in the eastern suburbs.

The data on ability to speak Greek or Italian seem to correlate with the numbers born overseas. It is set out in Table 8.30. The Greeks in the northern area had a poorer ability to speak Greek than those in the east and the number born overseas could contribute to this difference. The Italians did not differ greatly between the regions. On the other hand, the numbers of those who had studied Greek or Italian did not seem to relate to these findings. There is very little difference between the Greeks on this issue with 79 per cent of those in the northern area and 84 per cent of those in the eastern area having studied Greek. The Italians, however, do vary with 75 per cent of those in the northern area and 53 per cent of those in the eastern area having studied Italian.

The differences in ability to speak English did not vary beyond 6 per cent for either the Greeks or Italians, so the respondents in the two areas were comparable in this respect. The females in the eastern region were marginally more likely to belong to and/or be involved in ethnic organisations, but the small numbers in both areas who were involved were not very actively involved.

The data on ethnic background of friends is contained in Table 8.31. Greek females in the eastern area were more likely to have either mostly Greek or mostly immigrant friends and the same applies to the Italians if the first two categories in the table are combined. Although there are a few more of both the Greeks and Italians in the eastern area who have mostly Australian friends, their numbers

Table 8.31: **Ethnicity of friends of females by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Ethnicity of friends	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent					
All or mostly Greek–Italian	24	44	31	26	4	–
All or mostly of immigrant origin	18	8	8	9	–	–
Mixed immigrant origin and Australian	46	32	53	42	29	8
Mostly Australian	12	16	8	13	63	92
No response etc.	–	–	–	–	4	–
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.32: **Year of schooling reached by females by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Level of schooling reached	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent					
Year 8	–	–	–	–	4	–
Year 9	6	12	3	–	7	8
Year 10	12	12	19	29	15	12
Year 11	55	44	50	55	30	60
Year 12	27	32	28	16	44	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.33: **Things learnt at school of benefit in working in a job as stated by females according to area (1980–81 survey)**

Comment	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent					
Various things of benefit	76	92	63	95	63	84
Nothing of benefit	21	8	36	5	37	12
No response etc.	3	–	–	–	–	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.34: **Things learnt at school of benefit in areas other than a job as stated by females according to area (1980–81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Comment	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Various things of benefit	64	60	58	82	49	76
Nothing of benefit	27	32	36	13	51	24
No response etc.	9	8	6	5	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

are small and a considerable number in all groups have an ethnically mixed group of friends. Why the Greek and Italian females in the eastern area should be the more likely to have an immigrant-oriented circle of friends is difficult to say, for the Anglo-Australian group reflects more accurately the demography of the two areas.

On the issue of language used in the home, the Greeks in the eastern suburbs were some 13 per cent more likely to be using Greek regularly at home, which is consistent with what we found earlier, whereas the Italian group in the eastern area was some 12 per cent more likely to be using only English at home.

These data on ethnic identity and behaviour issues suggest that the Greeks in the eastern area had the stronger ethnic ties and more of them were born outside Australia. The Italians had similar proportions in each area born outside Australia and differences relating to ethnic patterns were neither very great nor consistently in the one direction.

Let us turn now to a comparison of the two areas in terms of schooling experiences. Table 8.32 indicates that the Greek and Italian respondents in the northern area are more likely to reach higher levels at school than are those in the eastern area, whereas the Anglo-Australian figures show the reverse trend, which one might anticipate from the socio-economic differences between the areas. The differences in both cases are not very great and may carry no significance.

The data on the level of schooling successfully completed were similarly mixed. Among the Greeks, those in the northern area were slightly more likely to have failed either Leaving or HSC but they had a slightly higher proportion attempting HSC. Among the Italians there were 10 per cent more respondents in the north passing both at Leaving and HSC levels and 15 per cent fewer from the northern area reaching only a level below Leaving. The Italian females in the north had therefore done considerably better. Likewise among the Anglo-Australians, the respondents in the northern area had done rather better than those in the east. These findings are difficult to interpret.

In regard to the respondents' perceptions of their parents' attitudes towards schools in Australia, among the Greeks the proportions of parents with negative views were fairly similar in the two areas, with a difference of only 8 per cent. Among the Italians the parents in the eastern area were 17 per cent more likely to be negative. Among the Anglo-Australians it is the parents in the eastern area again who are slightly more likely to be negative about the schools.

It is significant that the respondents in all three ethnic groupings in the northern area were more likely to say that they had learnt nothing at school of use in working in a job, as Table 8.33 shows. This same trend existed among the male respondents and so it would seem that this is a clear difference between the two areas. When asked about the benefits from school for areas of life other than work, the same trend exists for all groups of males and females except for the Greek females as Table 8.34 shows.

Table 8.35: **Extent of the encouragement of parents and teachers to females regarding staying on at school, according to area (1980–81 survey)**

	Greeks		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
Attitudes expressed	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
			Per cent			
Mothers'						
Strong encouragement to study	58	68	25	40	60	36
Said it was her decision	36	20	39	47	26	56
Encouraged to go to work	6	4	28	5	7	8
Other	-	8	8	8	7	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Fathers'						
Strong encouragement to study	58	68	33	39	33	40
Said it was her decision	33	12	39	53	30	36
Encouraged to go to work	3	8	17	5	11	-
Other	-	12	11	3	6	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Teachers'						
Strong encouragement to study	36	40	44	26	56	72
Said it was her decision	12	8	36	13	4	8
Encouraged to go to work	12	20	14	11	7	4
Other	40	32	6	50	33	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The questions on the influences on the respondents of teachers and parents with regard to continuing at school or going to work show differences between the areas, but these are not uniform. The Greek parents in the northern area were more likely to leave the decision to their daughters while those in the eastern area favoured further study. The Italian parents in the eastern area were more likely to both encourage further study and to leave the decision to the daughters, while those in the northern area were more likely to encourage their daughters to leave school and go to work. The Anglo-Australian fathers were the same as the Italian parents, in that those in the east favoured either more study or let the daughters decide, while those in the northern area were somewhat more likely to favour going to work. The Anglo-Australian mothers differed from their husbands in that those in the northern area were more likely to favour further study and those in the eastern area considerably more likely to leave the decision to the daughters. The figures are set out in Table 8.35.

There were some differences between the two areas in reasons for leaving school. Among the Greeks the major difference was that the female respondents in the eastern area were 24 per cent more likely than those in the northern area to leave because either they wanted to do something useful/get a job or they were tired of/bored at school. Among the Italians the differences were much

Table 8.36: **Employment experience of females by area of residence (1980–81 survey)**

Employment experience	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Australians*	
	Northern area	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*	*Northern area*	*Eastern area*
	Per cent					
Never been unemployed	18	28	25	29	33	48
No job since leaving school	21	8	17	5	8	-
Has worked but now unemployed	9	8	14	13	22	4
Now working but has been unemployed	52	56	44	53	37	48
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

less, with those in the northern area being more likely than those in the eastern area to have left because either they were not clever enough (9 per cent difference) or they were tired of school (10 per cent difference). The Anglo-Australians in the two areas differed mainly on the reason of not clever enough, with those in the eastern area being 21 per cent more likely to give this reason than those in the northern area. However, there was also a substantial difference on the reason of not learning enough, with 14 per cent more in the northern area giving this reason. There is thus no uniform pattern in the differences between the regions.

Among both the Greeks and Anglo-Australians, the respondents in the eastern area were some 8 and 14 per cent respectively, more likely to have left school part-way through the year. The Italian respondents differed only slightly in this regard.

There was little difference between the two areas among the Greeks and Anglo-Australians in terms of the proportions undertaking post-school training. The Italians in the eastern area were, however some 32 per cent more likely than those in the northern area to have done such training.

It is interesting to note that both the Italians and the Anglo-Australian respondents in the northern area were less likely to know about most sources of assistance for employment except the CES and the *Age*, than were those in the eastern area. However, among the Greeks there was an area difference on only one item, exams for government jobs, where those in the eastern area were 9 per cent less likely to have the information.

We shall turn now to the questions relating to employment. Employment experience was consistently better among the females in the eastern area where more in each group had never been unemployed or had been unemployed but were currently working. These figures are shown in Table 8.36.

The situation concerning working while at school is a mixed one with the Greeks and Anglo-Australians in the northern area being less likely to have done so than those in the eastern area, while the reverse was true of the Italians.

Looking at the nature of the first job which the female respondents went into after leaving school, we find little consistency in the pattern which emerges. With the Greeks, those in the eastern area were nearly 20 per cent more likely to enter the clerical category of jobs and those in the northern area were 14 per cent more likely to enter the service category. Among the Italians, the only difference was that those in the eastern area were nearly 16 per cent more likely to have entered the service category. The Anglo-Australian figures show that those in the eastern area were 21 per cent more likely to have gone into sales and those in the north were 11 per cent more likely to have entered the service category. In terms of method of obtaining the initial job, the Greeks in the two areas differed only in that those in the eastern area were 26 per cent more likely to have used the CES–other differences were small. The Italians differed less than the Greeks, with those in the eastern area being 11 per cent more likely to have used a newspaper. The Anglo-Australians in the eastern area were also more likely to use the newspaper than their counterparts in the northern area, by 9 per cent, and, like the Greeks, the Anglo-Australians in the east were more likely to use the CES, by 21 per cent.

In terms of the sort of work which the respondents really wanted to do, there was not very much difference betweeen the areas. However, when indicating their perceived chances of obtaining the job of their choice, the situation in terms of area differences does vary. The Greeks in the eastern area were more likely to be either quite optimistic or quite pessimistic, while those in the northern area were more likely to see their chances as average. The Italians had similar proportions in the two areas who were optimistic, but those in the eastern area were more likely to put their chances as average while those in the northern area saw them as being less than that. The Anglo-Australians in the eastern area were more optimistic. Despite the variation between ethnic groups, the respondents in the eastern area were on the whole more optimistic.

Two measures of the socio-economic status of the respondent's family are the father's years of schooling and his most recent occupation. On years of schooling, the Greek fathers in the northern area were slightly better educated on the responses given, but there was a high no response rate in the northern area. The Italian fathers of the respondents in the eastern area were the better educated and the same was true of the Anglo-Australians. From the question on the fathers' most recent job, we find that the Greek fathers in the northern area were more likely to be in the transport and trade categories and less likely to be in the labouring category than were those in the eastern area. The Italian fathers hardly differed at all in the distribution of occupations in the two areas, while the Anglo-Australian fathers in the eastern area were more likely to be in sales and in the trades.

To summarise, the situation among the females in the two areas in terms of schooling and employment seems to be as follows. The Greeks and Italians on the whole reached higher levels of schooling in the northern suburbs and had a better success rate. This suggests that the schools there may have gone out of their way to cater for them as this finding is not true of the Anglo-Australians, who did better in the eastern suburbs. On the other hand, more Greeks and Italians in the northern suburbs were likely to leave school feeling that they have gained little from it, although this may well reflect their more adverse post-school employment experiences. Of course, it should also be remembered that the groups that we have considered are residual groups in that they are the school leavers who have not gone on to tertiary education. Therefore, the fact that a higher proportion of the sample of females in the northern area have reached a higher level of schooling compared with the females in the eastern area could indicate that, for a given level of education, a higher proportion of females in the eastern area proceed to tertiary education, thus reinforcing the advantage of the eastern area.

The parents in the eastern suburbs were generally considerably more likely to encourage their daughters to further study, despite the Italian and Anglo-Australian parents in that area being more negative about the schools. This encouragement may have contributed to the fact that more females in the eastern area than in the northern went on to post-school training courses.

Finally, the female respondents in the eastern area were generally less likely to be or to have been unemployed and they were more likely to be optimistic about finally obtaining the job of their choice.

CHAPTER 9

Development of a set of measures to determine attitudes to work

9.1 Introduction

This section of the report deals with the sequence of development involved in the construction of the attitude part of the interview schedule.

The first part of the chapter is devoted to briefly outlining some of the major research findings in the area of attitudes towards work; a discussion of the concept of work and the development of a framework within which attitudes towards it may be measured; a theoretical framework for the construction of the instrument and a brief discussion of the methodology chosen for construction of the interview. (See Appendix B for a copy of the original scale.)

The second part of the chapter describes the pretesting procedures carried out on the instrument and explains why the questions included in the revised scale were selected. It also briefly deals with the initial pretest of the revised scale. (See Appendix C for a copy of the revised scale.)

Although this chapter deals exclusively with the development of the scale it is not necessary to the understanding of the results obtained with the scale itself, as outlined in Chapter 10.

9.2 Literature review

As Shimmin (1966:195) stated: 'Psychologists are apt to take the concept of work for granted, i.e. they are more interested in people's attitudes to work or factors influencing their behaviour at work than in the meaning and significance of work itself'. An extensive search of the literature in the area of work—attitudes, values, needs, aspirations, expectations and cultural variations towards it—revealed that Shimmin was correct.

Research on attitudes towards work have tended to fall into two areas: (1) job satisfaction; and (2) values, both job related and more general.

Job satisfaction

The area of job satisfaction has been researched by literally hundreds of investigators. Most of the research instruments were constructed without a theoretical basis, used once and rarely subjected to the rigors of psychometric requirements for such instruments. Robinson et al. (1967) have published an excellent summary of the general and consistent findings in the area with a selection of the research instruments used and areas covered and a helpful section on their construction and subsequent use. Shaw and Wright (1967) also published a book of attitude measures which included some related to work. These authors also give a brief summary of the construction of the scales. More recently Chun et al. (1975) have published a book listing 3000 sources of psychological assessment and these include sections on values and attitudes towards work. While Chun et al. do not give any indication of the construction of the scales in their listings, they do give original sources plus additional sources of uses made of the scales.

Given these three major sources plus the following—*Occupational Journal of Psychology* 1938–69; *Work and People* 1975–77 (vols 1–3); *Personnel Practice Bulletin* 1945–74 and *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance* 1966—to present, a thorough search of published scales related to employment was undertaken.

With the exception of a few scales in Shaw and Wright (1967) which were constructed in the 1930s and a few in the Robinson et al. (1967) collection, the vast majority of published scales deal exclusively with job satisfaction and areas perceived to be related to job satisfaction. Of those related areas almost every scale is based on American data and therefore, for example, scales of religiosity focus almost exclusively on Christianity with an occasional concession to Judaism (Lenski, 1963; Feagin, 1964; Allport and Ross, 1967).

There are a few scales based on other cultures. Nelson (1968) used an Australian-based scale to look at school leavers' occupational choices. The scale however was heavily based on the Kuder Interest Blank and did not predict job satisfaction very well. Monie (1967) looked at Greek-, Italian- and English-speaking factory workers (the Greek sample was dropped as the return rate of the questionnaires was very low). The only real difference she found between Italian- and English-speaking women workers was in the dimension of variety of work, with the Italian women rating this high relative to English-speaking women. Monie postulated that this was because the Italian women had communication difficulties and this in itself meant that they were less likely to be given a variety of tasks. Carruthers (1968) tested a British sample using an American scale and he found few differences in the direction of his results, that is, the test was able to produce the same kind of results with British subjects as with American. As it looks only at white collar workers it is not relevant for our purpose.

Of those scales which were found to contain questions more relevant to the requirements of this project, few met the necessary standards of psychometrically sound measures. They did, however, at least endeavour to orient their questions in such a way as to not preclude those unemployed at the time. (For example, the following scales are so constructed that they can be answered by any member of a population: Tauskey's (1968) The Meaning of Work Scale; and Hinckley and Hinckley's (1939) The Attitude Toward Earning a Living and the Attitude Towards receiving Relief Scales.) The problems with these scales include the fact that the types of questions asked were based on American terminology and the time of construction, in the case of Hinckley and Hinckley (1939). However, the questions appear to have face validity and some were considered as possible questions in the interview.

The one scale found that appears to be well constructed and also to contain some relevant questions is the Occupational Aspiration Scale (OAS) devised by Haller and Miller (1971). For this current project on migrant youth employment in Australia the interesting areas covered are those questions related to influence of family background and some similar questions were included in the more general demographic questionnaire.

Values

The other main area of endeavour focuses on both general and work specific values. This is a more fruitful area for the purposes of this project and more attention was paid to findings in this area. The same general problems were noted again in this area: (1) some scales used items which presumed that either a person was currently employed, or (2) the scale was totally work specific (Stefflre, 1959; Carruthers, 1968; Blood, 1969; Kilpatrick et al. 1964; Wollack et al. 1971; England and Lee, 1974; Searls et al., 1974 and Ronen, 1978). Some scales looked at general orientations to life or general values. These include Rosenberg (1957); Inkels (1960); Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Peck and Diaz-Guerrero (1967).

All of the value scales constructed to date reveal differences between types of workers and values stated as high or low in importance. Searls et al. (1974) found that supervisory staff differed from hourly workers on values but that hourly workers and the unemployed did not differ from each other. Kilpatrick et al. (1964) found 'value differences in line with previous results', in this case meaning the higher the status of the occupation the more intrinsically based were the values rated as important. England and Lee (1974) and Inkels (1960), Carruthers (1968) and Ronen (1978) all found that values differed according to culture (England and Lee); culture and occupation (Ronen); culture and class (Inkeles); and culture, occupation and sex (Carruthers).

Blood (1969) and Wollack et al. (1971) both found that values related to the Protestant ethic were correlated with success at a job in the United States.

Stefflre (1959) found seven values associated with work and his results tend to support the findings that blue collar workers are more likely to value extrinsically based values (he does not use the extrinsic-intrinsic dichotomy although his results can easily fit into this model). An exposition of this model follows on page...

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) attempted to show that values can be classified according to various specific orientations to life and that cultures can be differentiated on the basis of the usual orientation to certain 'universal' situations. (These authors assumed that certain types of situations occur universally and therefore can be used to test reactions to them.) They did demonstrate cultural differences but the assumptions underlying their measurement technique have not been validated.

Peck and Diaz-Guerrero (1967) demonstrated that even two cultures in close geographical proximity, the United States and Mexico, differ radically in meanings associated with certain words used to describe value concepts. This problem will be examined more fully in the section dealing with meanings associated with the concept of work. Rosenberg (1957) gives a general overview of the relationship between values and occupation. However, all his results are derived from university populations and therefore his conclusions have limited use for the wider community and for this project.

One other type of approach deserves a mention and that is the one attempting to relate needs and the degree of their fulfillment to job satisfaction. Schaffer (1953) has devised a scale to tap this dimension and he found that various needs do correlate better with job satisfaction than others, however he tested white collar workers only and his needs are almost all based on intrinsic types of variables. Tausky (1968) also attempts to tap the dimension of the meaning of work and found that education was the most important determinant of work meanings and also, that managers expressed more intrinsic satisfactions than did the other classes examined. This work is supported by many others (Stefflre, 1959; Handyside, 1961; Katzell et al., 1961; Hinricks, 1968; Hornaday and Brinker, 1970; Lawler and Hall, 1970 and Ronan, 1970).

Wernimount et al. (1970) looked at what was required for personal satisfaction at work. Their main finding was that motivation to work and satisfaction with the job were related but different concepts and that knowing one did not necessarily enable you to predict the other.

Given this background, the following conclusions can be offered:

(i) Almost all the scales developed concentrated on looking at the employed worker. Of the ones that did not focus on this point only two constructed in the 1930s focused on unemployment and relief. This leads one to speculate on why the area of unemployment and its attendant 'living off. the government' have not been more widely investigated. Perhaps it is because since the 1930s, the 1970s are the only time in recent history when unemployment has become a major problem in most Westernised societies

(ii) Although the United States (the source of almost all the research on this) do have large migrant populations, with the exception of the American negro and to a lesser extent the American Indian and the Chinese American, no other migrant populations appear to have been studied in relation to their work attitudes. The situation in Australia is the same, to quote Callan (1979:4): 'There are few studies which compare any aspect of immigrant and Australian behaviour'.

(iii) The vast majority of research done rests on the assumption that the respondent is currently employed and, with few exceptions, the main emphasis is on how employment affects the individual and vice versa or how a particular type of employment affects the individuals concerned.

(iv) There did not exist at the time, to the author's knowledge, any scale which could be used without major revision for the purposes of this study. Therefore one which focuses on the particular aims of this project had to be constructed.

9.3 The definition of the concept of work

Sylvia Shimmin (1966) in her paper on the 'Concept of Work' points out the difficulties surrounding the definition of this concept. In order to understand the individual's attitudes towards work both the researcher and the participant in the research must share a common definition of the concept of work. It is not necessary that researcher and participant agree on the relative contributions of the components of the concept as long as they agree on the relevance of the components themselves.

Hearnshaw (1954) states that work is central to our lives and that some coherent theory about work which includes its obligation component and its centrality in relation to other life interests must be formulated before a complete understanding of the meaning of work is possible. While Hearnshaw is right, so far no theory has emerged and it is not within the scope of this paper to formulate one. However, a definition can be selected with these two characteristics in mind. This definition will then provide the basis on which items are selected for inclusion in the interview schedule and by basing the selection on such a definition, interpretation of results can then be fitted into this framework.

A further dimension to be considered in the definition of work is outlined by Shimmin (1966). Work not only occupies time but it also defines our position in society. Evidence for such an assertion is easily found in the frequency with which we ask and are asked, 'What do you do?' (for a living). The answer to this question puts us into a certain social class, confers a certain status upon us and is responsible for certain traits of personality being attributed to us.

While there may be a gradually changing attitude to work and its importance in the definition of self both by ourselves and society, the importance of having a job has not decreased. That is, society still tends to regard the unemployed as lazy and/or stupid even though there is evidence of a shortage of jobs.

The definition of work which encompasses the three components well is that proposed by Shimmin (1966:197): 'Work ... may be regarded as employment within the social and economic system which is perceived by the individual as his main occupation, by the title of which he is known and from which he derives his role in society'.

This current project on migrant youth employment in Australia is not only investigating attitudes towards work, but also attitudes towards being employed, or having a paid job, being unemployed and being on unemployment benefits. The definition given above can also be used to define these concepts. It includes someone who works but may be unemployed (e.g. writer, artist, housewife etc.); someone who does not work and is therefore subject to pressures of society to gain some form of occupation in order to have his role defined; it can also define 'unemployed', as this word is a title with an attendant role, which is, for some, their main occupation. Finally it can be used to interpret the role of unemployment benefits. In some it may be viewed as 'payment' from society while they are free to 'work' unhindered by employment structures (e.g. an artist); for others it may be viewed as part of the role of being unemployed and be seen as degrading or humiliating but necessary; for still others it may be seen as part of being unemployed but since there are no jobs (suitable or gainable) it is a right and proper form of compensation.

9.4 Summary of factors seen as contributory to migrant's work attitudes

In order to construct items which have relevance to the attitude being investigated and also to the groups whose attitudes are to be measured, some background knowledge of these groups is desirable.

From impressions of the five groups under investigation, Anglo-Australian, Turkish, Lebanese, Greek and Italian, five major areas for consideration emerge. Each of these areas is considered to differentially contribute to any group's attitude toward work. It is the relative importance of various areas that possibly accounts for the differences in migrant groups' and Anglo-Australians' unemployment rates. The areas are:

(1) Language

The role of language in the success of gaining employment is not very well understood. Trends suggest that blue collar work of a minimally skilled nature is relatively easy to get even if the employee speaks little or no English. It appears that to progress, a more adequate knowledge of English is necessary and it may be that a skilled position, such as professional work of some form, demands a command of the language that includes the subtle but necessary nuances for the communication of ideas versus instructions of a more concrete nature.

If language is important and all indicators point to it being so, then presumably a migrant group who either has taken English as a second or third language at their home country school (e.g. as some Lebanese tend to have done) or a migrant group whose language structure has similarities to English (e.g. Italians) are going to find the acquisition of jobs, especially more skilled jobs, easier than those who do not share one of these characteristics (e.g. Turks and Greeks). The fact that there is not a linear relationship between language acquisition and employment (other variables held constant) suggests that other factors might be important as well.

(2) Religious affiliation

This factor may contribute in a more global way. Being a Greek Orthodox or a Moslem is more than just belonging to a religious sect, it is a way of life as is being Christian or Jewish. The problem only emerges because the expressions of the two religions Greek Orthodox and Moslem) may contribute to misunderstanding on both sides, the migrant's and the host group's. To the migrant it may be difficult to understand that work does not centre around set prayer times (for example) and to the host group, the request for a number of periods off work to pray may seem unreasonable. Perhaps more importantly though, the requirements of the various religions for daily living which is in line with what is prescribed, may mean that the migrant and host group are in states of almost constant misunderstanding and hostility or dislike and condemnation.

(3) Cultural affiliation

The degree to which a culture *per se* is important to a group may determine its reactions to a host country and its system. The Greeks for example value highly being Greek for its own sake and therefore their rate and degree of assimilation will be slower than a group who does not value its culture in that particular manner. If the culture is very dissimilar to that in Australia more problems are thought to arise than if it is similar. For example, the British, while valuing being British also hold very similar work values to those of Australians (and the Lebanese also appear more similar than the Greeks or Turks). While some factions argue that assimilation should not be necessary to succeed in a new country, the realities of the situation show that it is necessary if the migrant groups wish to succeed in Australia and to be happy here. A point rarely considered by those advocating little or no assimilation is that they are asking the host group to assimilate not to one group but to a whole variety of migrant groups, in so far as they are expected to understand, tolerate and promote values and ideas which may be quite foreign to their own culture.

(4) Family structure

This factor is not separate from factors (2) or (3). However even though the stated structure of various migrant groups may appear similar there are differences in the degree of influence that members of a family may exert. It seems, for example, that while the Turkish father is head of his household, the mother exerts considerable influence, not only in how much education is to be acquired, but also in the acquisition of employment. It may be that the pressure exerted by the family group to conform to the society of origin is stronger than the pressure exerted by the host group to conform to the society of adoption. The Greeks are a good example of a social group comprised of extensive family networks which exert a tremendous pressure on the members of that family to remain within the Greek community - to the extent that they are expected to find friends within it, live within it and marry within it. Obviously the degree of influence of the family will play an important role regarding when a job is sought, who seeks it and what the job is. Also involved in the role of the family is the extent to which behaviour likely to result in employment is condoned. This will probably be seen to affect females more than males as their prescribed behaviours are often very limited in a social sense, relative to that of the Anglo-Australian female.

(5) Expectations about the host country

There are two most probable reasons for migrating to a new country: (1) the country of origin is in some form of political or social upheaval which necessitates or makes desirable migration (e.g. the Hungarian uprising in 1955, the Vietnamese in the 1970s and most recently the Lebanese in the late 1970s); or (2) the country of origin is in some form of economic trouble where employment is a problem and the future for children looks bleak. For the most part it is the latter reason which motivates many of the migrants to Australia, which is viewed as a land of opportunity. Obviously there are many more reasons, some personal in nature, others to do with circumstantial events, but looking at mass group migrations, these seem to be the most frequently stated reasons.

Problems arise when the migrating group is led to expect, either through lack of knowledge or misleading information, benefits that the chosen host country cannot or is unwilling to provide. In the case of the Australian government the problem appears to be concerned with ways of disseminating the information rather than with the availability or quality of that information. Some groups seem to resist seeking information on their new country while others appear to believe the information put out by their country of origin about their chosen new country rather than that put out by the new country itself. Whatever the causes of this lack of knowledge, the results may be that the migrant groups arrive expecting things they will never get or only get after hard work. This will probably lead to dissatisfaction with the new country on the migrant's part and resentment on the host country's part. The extent and degree of error in expectations regarding work in Australia will affect attitudes both towards work per se and Australia in general.

It can be readily seen that either a very long involved series of questions must be asked to ascertain the contributing effects of these factors or a model must be adopted which takes these effects into consideration in a more economical manner. This was the reason for the selection of the Fishbein-Ajzen model of attitude measurement. As explained fully in Section 9.5 the component social norm can be utilised to give a rough measure of all the factors except (5), expectations. This, however, could either be covered in an open-ended question at the end of the interview or by the rewording of some of the questions in the demographic interview. The latter way was chosen as it was regarded as the most economical.

Sections 9.3 and 9.4 provide the basis upon which the interview schedule was constructed. Care was taken to be as general as possible in each of the areas outlined so as to allow the possibility of this framework to extend beyond the specific problem being examined at this time. As much of section 9.4 is hypothetical in nature, resting as it does on a few major surveys, it is open to revision at the completion of the project.

The final two sections deal with the theoretical framework and the methodology for the test construction, together with the reasons for this choice. The methodology was taken as a starting point and was constantly revised as work on the instrument progressed.

9.5 Theoretical basis for instrument design

Attitudes, no matter how defined or measured, form a central part of both the social psychologist's/sociologist's and the layman's concept of what motivates our behaviour. To date, the fit between the outcome of measures of attitude and the correlation of these outcomes with some behavioural criteria considered appropriate is very low and in some cases non-existent. Although this has bothered some researchers and moved many to postulate external variables which might affect the difference between stated attitude and observed behaviour, the instruments designed to measure attitudes have until recently gone unchallenged.

The basic underlying assumption in the construction of an attitude measurement instrument or technique was that attitudes were widely accepted to be composed of three different components (1) cognitive (or knowledge component), (2) affective (or evaluative component) and (3) conative (or action component). All the definitions of attitudes included these components in varying degrees of both explicitness and extent of contribution.

Correspondingly, all the measurement techniques tended to do the same and scales composed of entirely knowledge statements or action statements or evaluative statements were all assumed to measure attitudes as were scales combining any two or three of the components. For a summary of the approaches and their success in predicting relevant (or so considered) behaviour see Oskamp (1977).

In 1967 Martin Fishbein produced a book of readings which included two papers on his own work in the area of attitude theory and measurement. This initial work has led to the development of a full scale theory of attitudes and how they can be measured and this theory is outlined in Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). The point of interest for this project is that the definition of what an attitude is differs from previous definitions and therefore so do the ways of measuring it and ultimately predicting behaviour. Stated simply, attitudes are evaluative in nature. They are comprised of a number of beliefs about the object or person concerned, a probability that each of these beliefs is true or correct and an evaluation of how each of these beliefs makes you feel. The following formula illustrates the relationship between these components that leads to an attitude:

$$A_o = \sum_{i=1}^{N} b_i e_i$$

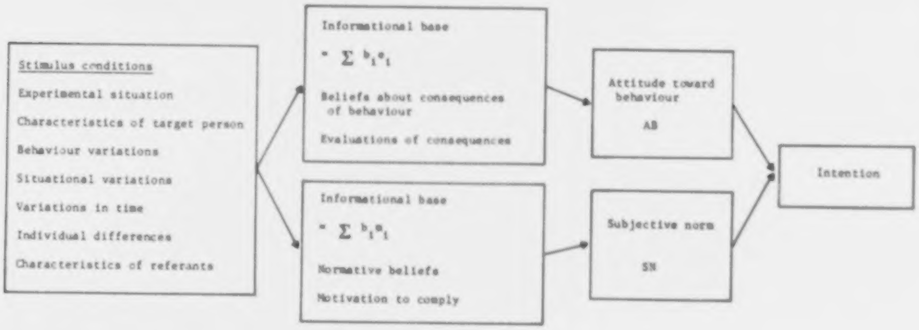
where A_o is the attitude towards an object o_i, b_i is the strength of any belief about o and e_i is the evaluation of these beliefs on an affective or feeling dimension.

Therefore in order to measure attitudes toward work we must have a number of belief statements relevant to work, an assessment of the probability of belief (or correctness of these statements) and also an assessment of the intensity of each belief in an evaluative sense (e.g. its importance to us). The sum of these expressions will be the overall attitude toward 'work'.

As has been documented on numerous occasions attitudes even so measured do not always correspond to behaviour. However, Fishbein and Ajzen have developed a theoretical model which shows the relationship of attitudes towards intentions to behave. They demonstrate that these intentions to behave correlate much better with actual behaviour than attitudes towards the object or person *per se*.

Figure 9.1 diagrammatically outlines the processes involved in coming to an intention to behave and is taken from Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, p375).

Figure 9.1: Processes involved in coming to an intention to behave


Stimulus conditions
Experimental situation
Characteristics of target person
Behaviour variations
Situational variations
Variations in time
Individual differences
Characteristics of referants
Informational base
$= \sum b_i e_i$
Beliefs about consequences of behaviour
Evaluations of consequences
Informational base
$= \sum b_i m_i$
Normative beliefs
Motivation to comply
Attitude toward behaviour
AB
Subjective norm
SN
Intention

Source : Fishbein and Ajzen (1975:375).

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The first part of the diagram, called 'stimulus conditions', refers both to contributory factors of the attitude and social norm components and also to the factors which can interfere between any measurement of the intention to behave and the actual performance of the behaviour.

The last part of the diagram, intention to behave, can be expressed as a formula:

$$B \sim I = (A_B)w_1 + (SN)w_2$$

where $B \sim I$ is a behavioural intention; A_B is attitude toward that behaviour and SN is a measure of social norms towards that behaviour. The w_1 and w_2 refer to the empirical weights given each of the two factors A_B and SN. These are determined by multiple regression techniques. (For an illustration see Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975:311.)

The components of the formula can be further expressed as the formulae:

$$A_B = \sum_{i=1}^{N} b_i e_i \quad \text{and} \quad SN = \sum_{i=1}^{N} m_i b_i$$

The first formula is simply a restatement of the definition of attitude in the first paragraph of Section 9.3. The second formula deals with the components of the concept of social norm: b_i refers to the person's normative beliefs about the behaviour, that is, whether he feels his peer group or family (or whatever normative variable is being examined) thinks he should or should not perform that behaviour; M_i refers to his motivation to comply with what these normative groups think he should do, that is, does he wish to do or does he generally do what his mother, for example, feels he should do.

The main reason for selecting this approach to the measurement of attitudes (aside from the obvious one of its being the best predictor of behaviour) lies in the concept of the intention to behave.

One of the keys to understanding cross-cultural differences seems to be in the area of values and how they are differentially seen as important or not important. As already shown and referred to by England and Lee (1971) in the section on values in the literature review, the personal value system of a successful Australian manager is different from that of a successful American or Japanese manager. Theoretically at least for a Japanese to become a successful manager in Australia he would either have to come from a different background initially than the background of the typical Japanese (that is, one which promotes the holding of values similar to those held by an Australian manager) or he would have to assimilate to the Australian culture and value system relevant to the position which he was seeking.

Therefore some measure or indicator of the value systems of the different cultural groups is essential to an understanding of the similarities and differences of these groups, which in turn should lead to an understanding of some of the differential employment rates.

Although the normative belief (SN) component of the Fishbein and Ajzen model is not a measure of values *per se*, what it does do is give some indication of what constitutes important sources of reference for the various cultural groups in relation to the types of behaviour which might prejudice in favour of or against employment. That is, it quantifies who is an important (or what is an important) source of pressure to behave in certain ways (presumably based on shared cultural norms) and how much the person feels it is necessary to comply with these cultural pressures. Although there is quite a leap from cultural norms to personal values, to a certain extent the former must influence the latter. The Fishbein and Ajzen model attempts to include a sort of personal assessment of cultural norms which may be sufficient to enable us to predict behaviour successfully.

The Fishbein and Ajzen model also includes a large section on the relationship between attitude, intention and actual behaviour. What they have demonstrated is that attitudes towards intentions to behave predict actual behaviour better than attitudes towards the person or object of the behaviour. Moreover, although their model offers a better chance of predictive success between attitudes to a person and a particular behaviour, much higher rates of success occur when attitudes towards sets of related behaviours are assessed and multiple act criteria of behaviour are used. This makes a lot of sense as the holding of an attitude toward a certain type of behaviour does not mean we will or will not act accordingly unless the other situational variables make such action appropriate to us. However, the holding of a certain attitude toward a list of related behaviours increases the probability that one of those behaviours will probably be chosen as a sort of representative of both the situational variables and the attitudes towards the behaviour or towards the object or person concerned.

A number of times in the previous sections mention has been made of external variables which might mediate between expressed attitude or intention and actual observed behaviour. Fishbein and Ajzen also include a look at these in their model and find that some of the more major ones assumed to mediate substantially, in fact, do not show a large effect when their model is used. The SN component appears to account for many of these variables adequately.

There are, however, a list of variables given which may or may not mediate between measured attitude and observed behaviour. The following is a selection of these variables from the list (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975:231). This selection was chosen for its apparent relevance to the migrant situation:

(i) Situations involving normative prescriptions of good behaviour;

(ii) Unavailability of alternative behaviour;

(iii) Inadequate intellectual, verbal or social skills;

(iv) Other competing attitudes, motives or values; and

(v) Unforeseen behavioral events.

If Fishbein and Ajzen's model is correct then it should give some idea of the contributions of factors (i) and (iv). Factor (v) is unmeasurable in a psychometric sense and factors (ii) and (iii) were tapped by the inclusion of relevant questions in the demographic part of the interview.

The measurement technique for assessing attitudes towards employment, unemployment and unemployment benefits should yield the best results to account for:

(1) the differences observed in employment rates;

(2) the differences in the behaviour used to seek employment;

(3) the differences observed in attitudes towards being employed 'no matter what' versus being on unemployment benefits if a job is not suitable;

(4) the differences in attitudes towards unemployment benefits; and

(5) the differences in general toward the concept of work.

There are a number of related areas of investigation if the whole area of work is to be covered:

(1) There needs to be some general measure of attitudes towards work *per se*. This should include attitudes towards paid versus unpaid work; attitudes towards not having a job; and attitudes towards receiving the unemployment benefit versus refusing to accept these benefits.

(2) To utilise the Fishbein and Ajzen model of attitude measurement a number of belief statements concerning each one were written. These statements were constructed so that ratings from 1 to 5, for a) the probability of the statements actually being true and b) the way the respondent felt about a statement, could be recorded.

(3) A scale listing activities associated with job seeking and also activities presumed to increase the chances of gaining employment and/or a particular job was constructed. This is the scale which should, theoretically at least, yield the most relevant information about why certain groups of people are more successful in gaining employment. Presumably those gaining employment most often also state intentions to behave in more ways conducive to gaining employment than not conducive to it and, more importantly actually engage in those behaviours; and

(4) In order to say with certainty that particular groups of people are more successful than others in getting employed, we also need to know the likelihood of their remaining employed. This variable is usually examined by looking at measures of variables affecting job satisfaction.

Although it is not within the scope of this project to measure job satisfaction it is necessary to outline in a brief manner some of the major findings in the area. There are indications that this is the area in which changes are occurring.

The theoretical basis most frequently stated for indices of job satisfaction is that proposed by Herzberg et al. (1957). They proposed a two-factor theory of job satisfaction, that is, satisfaction can come from intrinsic types of sources (e.g. challenge, achievement, curiosity, stimulation etc.) or it can come from extrinsic sources (e.g. salary, security, benefits, working conditions etc.). Their research tended to indicate that extrinsic factors are seen as being deficient by the dissatisfied but are rarely mentioned as benefits by the satisfied.

While some argue with aspects of this theory (Locke, 1967) almost all research that has been examined in the literature review of this chapter finds that there is a dichotomy of factors present and these correspond quite well with the intrinsic–extrinsic dimension. Moreover, as stated in a previous section (9.2), the blue collar worker is more likely to state extrinsic sources of satisfaction than the more skilled worker. The one exception in the white collar class is that of the clerical worker who shows patterns more similar to the blue collar worker. This is understandable given that the nature of the work, while being socially acceptable, remains boring and repetitive for the most part. For a detailed look at the types of studies done and some of the consistent research findings, the reader is referred to Chapter 2 of Robinson et al. (1967).

Recent work done on values, both general and work specific, indicates that there may be a shift in values associated with job satisfaction from the extrinsic to the more intrinsic factors, that is, no matter what the type of job, people are tending to expect and want more from their jobs in terms of intrinsic satisfaction, for example, stimulating work (Ronen, 1978).

While only two societies have looked at this trend in any detail (Israel and the United States) it is not unreasonable to assume that the same changes will take place all over the industrialised world and that in Australia, they may even have started to occur. Certainly the higher education level of most young Australians will lead them to expect correspondingly 'better jobs', i.e. ones yielding high job satisfaction. The current trends within our society in general and epitomised by the media, encourage all young people to 'do their own thing' and correspondingly one would expect that their feelings about the type and function of the job they wish to get is in line with 'their own thing'. One would also expect to see more reluctance to take a job which does not lead to these goals. If this is so, then this poses a very difficult problem for both employers and for the young job seekers. For example, how can an industrialist make the factory work of a blue collar nature more intrinsically satisfying? A partial answer to this came from those who investigated the effects of groups versus individuals in factory tasks. This well-known work of the Volvo and Saab corporations of Sweden (where responsibility for completing a section of the car is given to a group of workers) shows clearly that involvement leads to higher job satisfaction. As these jobs are largely filled by migrant workers the problem is compounded as employers and employees must deal with language difficulties and feelings of discrimination on the migrant's part. (Stevenson (1952) points out that many migrants may have sufficient English to be able to cope with concrete types of communication but they may lack the finer subleties of the language which are necessary to convey more abstract ideas such as attitudes and feelings).

With regard to the job seekers, the fact is that, in a large majority of cases, they will probably not be able to get the jobs they want. What effect will that have on performance in a less desirable job and the associated job satisfaction? Will this mean a severe adapting process from being led to expect one thing and finding the market unable to provide it? Will young people be more likely to hold out for a better (i.e. more desirable) job and therefore be more content to 'live on the dole' until they get it, if they do? Findings from the earlier related project indicate that Australians and Lebanese are already less likely to take a 'bad' job than are the Turks. That is they would rather remain unemployed and 'on the dole' than take a 'bad' job. (Young et al., 1980).

Obviously the effects of such attitudes towards work is going to affect approaches to gaining employment and perhaps a period of monitoring of attitudes of young people might help prevent some of the potential problems inherent in our system.

One final consideration is that along with higher expectations about the functions of a job, as outlined in 9.3, there is a parallel and growing shift in the value of work *per se*.

9.6 Methodology

The construction of the Attitude Measures

In the original set of attitude statements (see Appendix B) two measures were constructed to examine the two approaches to attitude measurement as outlined in Section 9.4. The first part, the attitude scale, was made up of seventy-five statements thought to be relevant to attitudes towards work. There were four areas examined:

(1) the concept of work *per se*; twenty items dealt with this (numbers 1–20 in Appendix B);

(2) the concept of being employed, which included twenty-one items (numbers 21–41 in Appendix B);

(3) the concept of being unemployed, which included twenty-three statements (numbers 42–63A in Appendix B); and

(4) the concept of being on unemployment benefits which included eleven items (numbers 64–74 in Appendix B).

This scale is very similar in format to conventional attitude scales and differs only in the responses required from the respondent. Each item is read to the respondent twice. The first time he/she is asked to rate on a scale of 1–5 how true he/she thinks the item is. The second time the respondent is asked to rate on a scale of 1–5 how he/she feels about that item. Therefore each item contains two ratings and the score of each item is the product of these two ratings. On this basis scores can range from 1 to 25. In every case, a value of one would indicate a strong agreement with the item and a value of 25 a strong disagreement with the item. The middle ranges would indicate either an uncertainty or a neutrality about that particular item.

The second measure concentrated on the behavioural intentions of the respondent. A list of twenty activities, which are usually associated with job seeking (numbers 75–94 in Appendix B) and eight activities, usually associated with bettering the chances of gaining employment and/or a particular job (numbers 95–102 in Appendix B), was constructed. This made a total of twenty-eight activities related to job seeking. On this part of the scale the respondent was asked to make a number of ratings for each item listed. As before, all ratings were from 1–5. The first two ratings were identical to those just described and in fact correspond to the attitude towards that particular activity. The next four ratings dealt with the social norm component described in Section 9.5. Each respondent was asked to guess how they thought their parents, friends and, if they had one, boy/girl friend would feel about their doing that activity in order to try to get a job. Finally the respondent was asked if he/she had ever actually done this activity and how often, or, if they had not done it, would they. (This scale went from 1–9.) This last rating was the measure of their actual performance, that is, what they actually did and was to be used to see whether their intentions to do something correlated at all with what they actually did.

At the end of this section the respondent made a last rating which was to measure his/her desire to comply with what he/she believed the parents, friends and boy/girl friend wanted him/her to do. This measure corresponded to the motivation to comply as explained in Section 9.5.

The score of each item on the behavioural intention scale was derived by multiplying the first two ratings by the product of the sum of the last two ratings. (This procedure is explained in Section 9.5.)

Although the procedure required a lot of complex responses from the person being interviewed previous research indicted a surprising willingness on the part of respondents to complete such interviews and trouble was therefore not anticipated.

To ensure that each person who would respond to this attitude scale was responding to what was being measured, a standardised set of cards was constructed. Each interviewer was to be given this set of cards, to be sure that each respondent responded to the same questions about each item. A copy of the complete set of items and the cards used is included in Appendix D.

Face validation of the measures

Each item on the two scales was shown to two representatives of each ethnic group to be studied, i.e. Anglo-Australian, Greek and Italian. All were satisfied that the items could be understood by members of their particular ethnic group and also that the items were relevant to the areas being investigated. The test items were translated into Greek and Italian, for the reasons outlined in Section 9.5. The only possible difficulty that might have arisen regarding the wording was if only Italian dialect was spoken by the respondent. In fact, the interviewers seldom had to use the translated versions because most respondents spoke English very well. In addition, because of the varied levels of schooling anticipated all items were worded as simply and clearly as possible.

9.7 Pretesting the attitude measures

The Canberra Pretest

The samples originally selected were to include fifteen employed and fifteen unemployed males of Greek, Australian and Italian ethnic origin. The same number of girls were to be sampled. The age range was to be from 15-20 years, which covered the ages at leaving school and seeking first employment. No restriction on education level was to be made.

In reality, problems in getting a sample of unemployed males and females in Canberra were encountered. Italians, Greeks and Australians in Canberra showed great reluctance to be identified as unemployed or to answer surveys because they might be used 'against' them. Although their anonymity was stressed and they were told they were part of a pretest for the attitude measure many still refused to participate.

The sample surveyed amounted to ninety-five employed and thirty-one unemployed with the breakdown shown in Table 9.1.

Although the sample was not entirely representative, the analysis indicated a number of items which appeared to discriminate between the groups adequately enough to allow a selection of the best of these to construct a revised scale for use in the larger survey.

Of those who agreed to participate in the pretest, no one reported any difficulty in understanding the items or the procedure of administration. There were few errors made on the recording of responses. The measures took a total of one hour to administer.

Analysis of results of the pretest

All the conventional reliability and internal consistency checks were made and, within the limitations already discussed, these proved that the original scale performed adequately.

Cross-tabulations of each item by ethnic group, sex and employment status were done. Only those items which discriminated groups at a statistically significant level of $p < .00$ were considered for inclusion in the revised attitude scale. It was hoped that by being as stringent as this with the selection procedure the shortcomings of the pretest sample would be somewhat lessened.

Table 9.1: **Distribution of the sample in the Canberra pre-test, 1980**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Category	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Employed	6	15	23	23	12	16
Unemployed	7	6	7	6	2	2

A total of twenty-nine items selected met this criterion. Seventeen of these were from the attitude scale and twelve were from the behavioural scale.* As it happened, each of the four concept areas was represented with four items looking at the concept of work, three at being employed, six at being unemployed and four at being in unemployment benefits (see Appendix C).

Although more items on the attitude scale of the original attitude measures met the criterion it was felt that the revised scale of twenty-nine items, which represented the best discriminators of the original items, was probably long enough, particularly as it was going to be part of a much longer demographic interview schedule.

The Melbourne pretest

In the pretest of the main questionnaire in Melbourne, the attitude part was considered to be best placed in the middle of the demographic schedule. This gave the interviewers time to build up a support with the person being interviewed and this appeared to work quite well. The attitude section itself, as with the Canberra pretest, posed relatively few problems for those being interviewed although initially the interviewers had felt there might be complaints about the technique required to answer this section.

All interviewers were given a prepared statement about the background and aims of the attitude section and also standardised and detailed instructions on the method required to administer it. Subsequently a short discussion session was undertaken to see what, if any, problems had occurred. Some interviewers had experienced minor difficulties with this part of the questionnaire, but the preparation of revised and more detailed interviewer instructions largely solved these problems in the main survey.

Preliminary analysis of the Melbourne pretest sample indicated that the attitude section was working well and few missing values were found. No changes were needed to the attitude section of the revised interview schedule, so that with the exception of an exploratory sample of people still at school, all the people in the Melbourne pretest could be included in the main analysis. Due to the small numbers in the Melbourne pretest no results were tabulated.

A final comment

The original schedule with its 103 items would definitely have been best to use if the only concern was assessing attitudes and behavioural intentions to employment. The potential of this instrument is as such largely untapped. However, in the context of being a part of a much larger interview schedule, a much reduced scale was essential and it is for this reason and the limited time available for the whole project that the original schedule was revised before it had really been adequately pretested.

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* Only one of the twelve fell into the category of activities which might better chances of employment and for a particular job and so this item was dropped as a separate category.

CHAPTER 10

Analysis and results of the attitude measures in the main survey

10.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the results obtained with the revised attitude scales as described in Chapter 9. The first sections briefly outline the methodology employed during the survey and the types of analyses performed on the data. The following sections present the results and offer some tentative conclusions about each of the ways the data were examined. The final section briefly summarises the major trends which emerged during the analyses.

10.2 Method

As with the previous two pretests described in Chapter 9, a standardised set of instructions was given to the interviewers in the main survey. For both the Melbourne pretest and the main survey in Melbourne translations of the attitude items were available if required. However it was seldom necessary for any interviewer to use these as most respondents preferred to answer in English. Relatively few problems were encountered in the understanding of what was required by the respondent on the attitude measures. Similarly few errors were made in recording the responses.

Upon receipt of a complete set of attitude measures a check was made to ensure that all questions were filled in. Sets of attitude measures were dropped from the analyses from those respondents who were considered to be atypical, mainly married females and a few who were doing post-school courses while unemployed. A total of 329 sets of attitude measures were thus eligible for analysis and the breakdown by sex, ethnic group and employment status is presented in Table 10.1.

As can be seen from the table the Italian females are over-represented relative to the other groups but no attempt was made to change this as the numbers of the other groups were adequate for analysis purposes and no gain could be seen by dropping any of the Italian females.

One problem remains—very small numbers of unemployed were found and any analysis on such small numbers can at best be regarded as showing trends. Therefore any conclusions drawn from these trends are strictly tentative in nature.

If the numbers of unemployed are combined then the total number, sixty-six, is adequate for analysis; however even though a number of analyses were performed using this composite number, the conclusions they lead to do not always support the trends noted when breakdowns by ethnic groups and sex were performed. It is for this reason that both sets of analyses are reported and only the consistent trends are used to try to form some conclusions about the attitudes and behavioural intentions of each of the ethnic groups by sex and employment status.

10.3 Analysis

As described in section 9.6 the scores possible on each item of the attitude scale ranged from 1 to 25. To enable easier analysis three intervals were selected:

(1) scores 1–4 were taken to indicate a strongly held attitude on the part of the respondent;

(2) scores 5–12 were taken to indicate either a neutral response or an uncertainty about the item; and

(3) scores 13–25 were taken to indicate a strong disagreement with the item.

It should be noted that disagreement with an item does not necessarily mean that there would be agreement with the opposite of that item.

Table 10.1: **Distribution of the sample by sex, ethnic group and employment status for the analysis of the attitude items 1980–81 survey)**

	Greek		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
Category	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Employed	41	43	41	50	46	43
Unemployed	11	13	8	18	6	9
Total	52	56	49	68	52	52

The same breakdown was performed on the more complex behavioural intention scale:

(1) the first interval of 1–68 indicated a willingness to do the activity;

(2) the second interval of 69–253 indicated a neutrality or uncertainty; and

(3) the final interval 254–425 indicated an unwillingness to do the activity.

For convenience, interval 1 was labelled 'probably would' (do the activity) interval 2 'unsure', and interval 3 'probably would not' (do the activity). Therefore all the distributions described in the following results sections have three points corresponding to positive, neutral and negative reactions to each item on the attitude scale, and 'probably would', 'unsure' and 'probably would not' for each item on the behavioural intention scale.

Although the Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) method of analysing attitudes required the summation of the positive and negative reactions to find an overall attitude to what was being measured, the severe reduction of items used to measure each concept meant that such an analysis would probably be of little use for our purposes. However, one of the sections following, 10.14, attempts to look at this sort of analysis. The main bulk of the analyses were carried out on an item by item basis, as the purpose of this project was to attempt to construct an attitude measure which would help to identify similarities and differences between Greeks, Italians and Anglo-Australians by sex and employment status. As will be seen, these measures were able to do this, although a much more accurate instrument would have been the original attitude measure of 103 items.

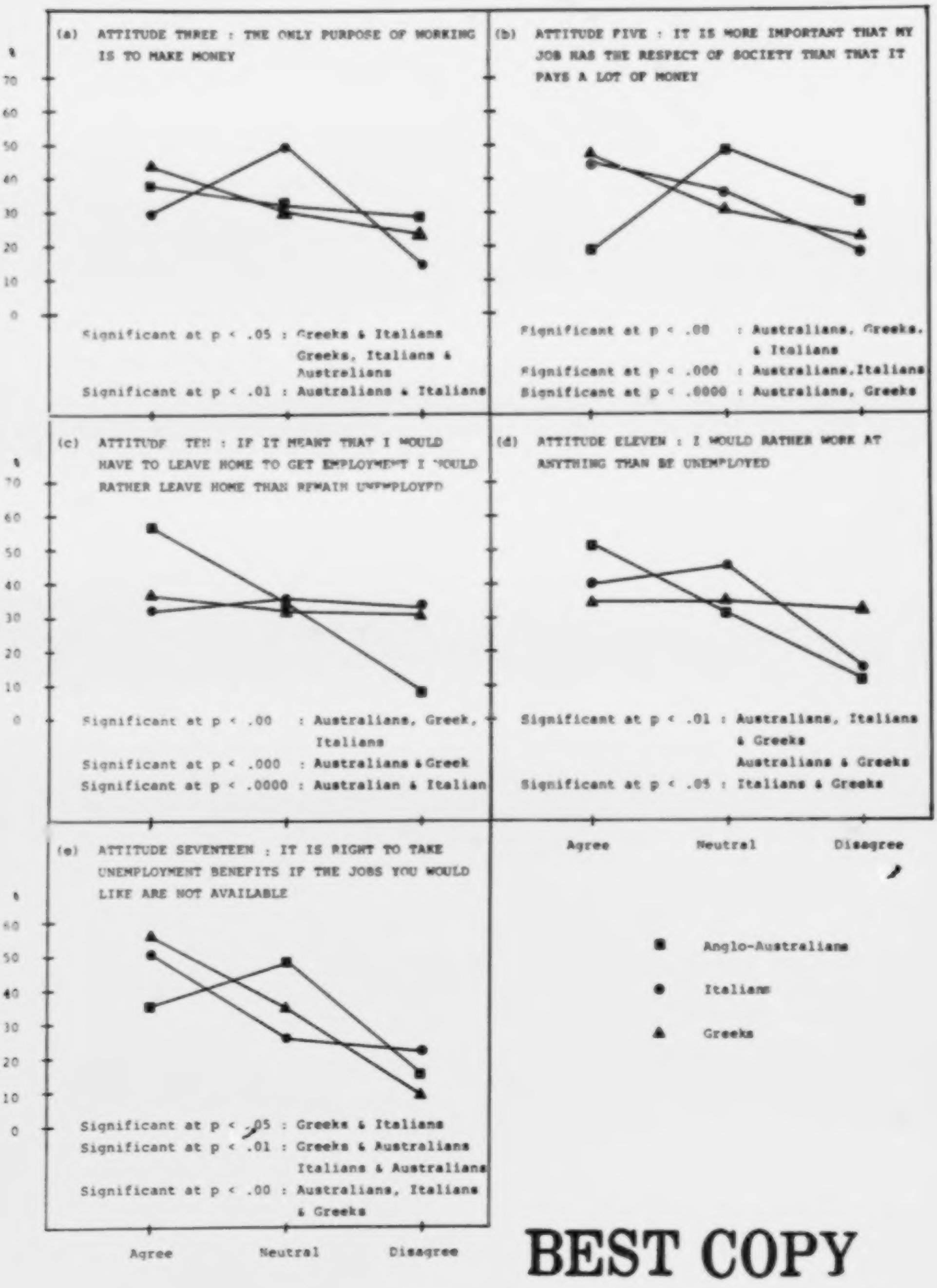
10.4 Results: overall ethnic differences in the attitude scale

The first analysis was to cross-tabulate the scores on each item by ethnic group. This revealed five of the attitude items which discriminated well between ethnic groups. Later it will become clear that such a major classification as ethnic group is sufficient to make conclusions, and it is worth looking at what the differences were. Each of the five attitudes will be looked at in detail and a tentative concluding statement will be made. (See Appendix C for a list of each item on the attitude measures.)

Attitude three: *The only purpose of working is to make money*

The Anglo-Australian and Greek groups do not differ much from each other but both differ considerably from the Italian group. Half of the Italians fell into the neutral category while only 33 per cent of the Australia and 31 per cent of the Greeks did. 45 per cent of the Greeks, 37 per cent of the Anglo-Australians and 34 per cent of the Italians strongly agreed with the item whereas 23 per cent of the Greeks, 29 per cent of the Anglo-Australians and 15 per cent of the Italians disagreed with it. It appears that of the three groups the Italians are most neutral about the item and this may indicate an uncertainty about the purpose of work or it may indicate that work *per se* is the important factor. The Greeks on the other hand are most likely to strongly agree with this item which may indicate that to the Greek to work means to make money, or it may mean that work = money = security. Further trends tend to form the latter interpretation. The Anglo-Australians are fairly evenly divided between the three categories and no trend emerges on this item (see Figure 10.1(a)).

Figure 10.1: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to ethnic background



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Attitude five: *It is more important that my job has the respect of society than that it pays a lot of money*

On this item it is the Anglo-Australian that are neutral (50 per cent). Both Greeks (47 per cent) and Italians (46 per cent) strongly agree with this item. In the case of the Greeks it lends support to the idea of a complex definition of work, part of which is to make money and to bring respect to the person working—perhaps also to his family. In the case of the Italian it may be that to the Italian the type of job is very important, more so than money, or it may indicate that to *work* is important. Results from other attitude items indicate this complex definition of work exists for Italians too. The Anglo-Australian is more likely than either group to strongly disagree with this statement and it may be that to the Anglo-Australian *to work per se* is also important (see Figure 10.1(b)).

Attitude ten: *If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed*

Again the Italian and Greek groups are very similar in their reactions to this item. Both groups are less likely to agree with this item than the Anglo-Australians (57 per cent). However their distributions are fairly even over the three categories (30–35 per cent) and it is the Anglo-Australians who are very unlikely to disagree with this statement (9 per cent). This may indicate on the part of the Anglo-Australians a strong desire to work for its own sake, or it may reflect a strongly held cultural difference on the importance of the family remaining close in both proximity as well as emotional attachment. The role of the family in the Greek and Italian cultures has often been seen to play a larger role than in the Anglo-Australian culture (see Figure 10.1(c)).

Attitude eleven: *I would rather work at anything than be unemployed*

Although Italians and Anglo-Australians do not differ significantly on overall distribution their respective distributions lend support to the tentative conclusions drawn before, that is, the Anglo-Australians (55 per cent of whom agree with this statement) appear to be endorsing the overall attitude that to work is very important. The Italians, with 41 per cent agreeing, reflect that working is important but also show by their higher neutral category (44 per cent) that work may be less important than the type of job. The Greeks are fairly even in their distribution on this item (30–35 per cent) which also fits well with the previous observations about the dual role of work for the Greek. It may be for the Greek the dual purposes of money plus having 'a good job' are held in differing amounts by each individual (see Figure 10.1(d)).

Attitude seventeen: *It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are not available*

The distribution on this question tends to support previous observations. To the Anglo-Australian to work is most important and therefore he is least likely to agree with this item (38 per cent). There is however a very large category of neutral responses in the Anglo-Australian group (49 per cent) and what this indicates is uncertain—it may be an indication of a *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of Anglo-Australians towards others. The Greeks are most likely to agree with this (56 per cent) while the Italians come next (51 per cent). It seems fairly clear that if you feel that to work is important both for its money-making role and its role of defining place in society then to accept unemployment benefits until the 'right' job comes along is only fair. The degree to which such a view is held probably corresponds closely with the levels of agreement on this item (see Figure 10.1(e)).

If we put the five attitude items together a pattern emerges. It appears that to the Greek work carries at least a dual role, that is, to make money and to define our place in society. Therefore it is considered acceptable to take government money until the right job for the individual is found. In other words the type of job is as important as its money-making function. Other things may interfere with jobs as well, such as the necessity to leave the family home. Both Greeks and Italians appear to be less willing to do this simply to be employed.

The Anglo-Australian on the other hand appears to feel strongly that to work *per se* is important and appears more willing than either of the other two groups to 'work at anything' and to leave home if necessary. The Italian falls between these two extremes. It appears that the job must be of a type considered acceptable. However they also appear to have a strong desire to acquire that job.

These trends are tentative—but appear consistent with known cultural values. The following analyses basically support these overall ethnic differences in attitudes but also reveal some important qualifying variables.

10.5 Differences in the Attitude scale between the ethnic groups

The next analysis broke down the groups further and comparisons were made between Italians and Greeks, Italians and Anglo-Australians and Greeks and Anglo-Australians. These cross-tabulations revealed further ethnic differences which are described below.

Italians and Greeks: Besides differing on some of the attitudes previously described (i.e., 3, 11 and 17) they also differ on a further two, 8 and 14.

Attitude eight: *Being unemployed is great but I would like to eventually get a job*

Again there are consistent findings, with the Anglo-Australians indicating their greater feelings about being employed no matter what, compared with the Greeks' apparently greater selectivity. A total of 60 per cent of Greeks agree with this item compared to 43 per cent of the Italians and 34 per cent of the Italians disagree with this item compared to 20 per cent of the Greeks. This fits with the previous findings in that the Italian appears to have a very strong need/desire to find 'acceptable' work.

Attitude fourteen: *If society did not look down on those receiving unemployment benefits I would be happy to receive them rather than work*

Although neither group endorses this item strongly, Greeks are more likely to, 16 per cent compared to 6 per cent and less likely to disagree, 57 per cent compared to 66 per cent. This may again indicate a strong need in the Italian to find the 'right' job.

Italian and Anglo-Australian. The Italians and Anglo-Australians do not differ on any attitudes other than those already described in section 10.4 (i.e. 3, 5, 10, 17).

Greek and Anglo-Australian. The Greeks and Anglo-Australians differ on attitudes 4 and 8 as well as 5, 10, 11 and 17.

Attitude four: *It does not matter whether or not I get any money for my work as long as I am happy with what I do.*

A total of 37 per cent of the Greeks compared to 20 per cent of the Anglo-Australians agree with this statement and 43 per cent compared with 33 per cent disagreed. This is the only item which does not appear to fit with previous results. However it may indicate once again the dual role for work for the Greeks and it may also indicate that working = employment for Anglo-Australians.

These breakdowns add further support to the overall trends already noted and definitely reinforce the idea of basic idealogical differences towards work and employment between the three groups. It is important to add here that by far the largest proportion of *all groups* indicate a strong desire to work and be employed. None of the groups wish to be unemployed as an alternative except for very small percentages. It may be that these small numbers of people in all three groups will become important in the future as available jobs for any group become smaller relative to those seeking jobs. Being able to identify those happy to remain unemployed may become a great asset to both those so indicating and those most needing/desiring a job.

10.6 Analysis of the Behavioural Intention Scale by ethnic group—overall ethnic differences

The three groups differed on nine of these twelve items. The following is a description of the results and some tentative conclusions.

Behavioural Intention (BI) 18: *Reading jobs vacant columns in my local newspaper.*

Sixty-four per cent of the Italians compared to 33 per cent of the Anglo-Australians and 31 per cent of the Greeks indicate they are willing to do this. 69 per cent of the Greeks, 67 per cent of the Anglo-Australians and only 36 per cent of the Italians indicate uncertainty (see Figure 10.2(a)).

BI 19: *Asking my father to help me find a job*

All groups indicate uncertainty about this item although this result is at variance with the source of their employment. It may be that the parents sought jobs and presented these to the young people rather than that the young people requested that this be done. Of the three groups the Italians are most likely to indicate willingness to do this and this fits with their source of employment pattern.

BI 20: *Going to the Commonwealth Employment Service*

Sixty-two per cent of the Italians compared to 43 per cent of the Greeks and 36 per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate their intention of doing this. Sixty-four per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate uncertainty, followed by 56 per cent of the Greeks and 38 per cent of the Italians (see Figure 10.2(b)).

BI 21: *Asking my employed friends to help me find a job*

Thirty-six per cent of the Italians compared to 20 per cent of the Greeks and 16 per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate a willingness to do this. Seventy-nine per cent of the Anglo-Australians and 76 per cent of the Greeks however indicate uncertainty about this.

BI 22: *Applying for the dole*

Forty-one per cent of the Italians compared to 21 per cent of the Greeks and 14 per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate willingness to do this. The Anglo-Australians and Greeks again have high percentages in the unsure category (79 and 77 per cent respectively).

BI 23: *Going to any interviews set up for me, even if I think I will not get the job*

Fifty per cent of the Italians indicate a willingness to do this followed by the Anglo-Australians and Greeks at 33 per cent and 32 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the Italians, 64 per cent of the Anglo-Australians and 65 per cent of the Greeks are unsure (see Figure 10.2(c)).

BI 24: *Reading the jobs vacant columns in the Anglo-Australian or some other major newspaper*

Both Italians and Greeks indicate a greater percentage of those willing to do this than the Anglo-Australians (31 per cent and 28 per cent compared to 20 per cent). All these groups show large percentages in the unsure category (68 per cent, 65 per cent and 79 per cent respectively).

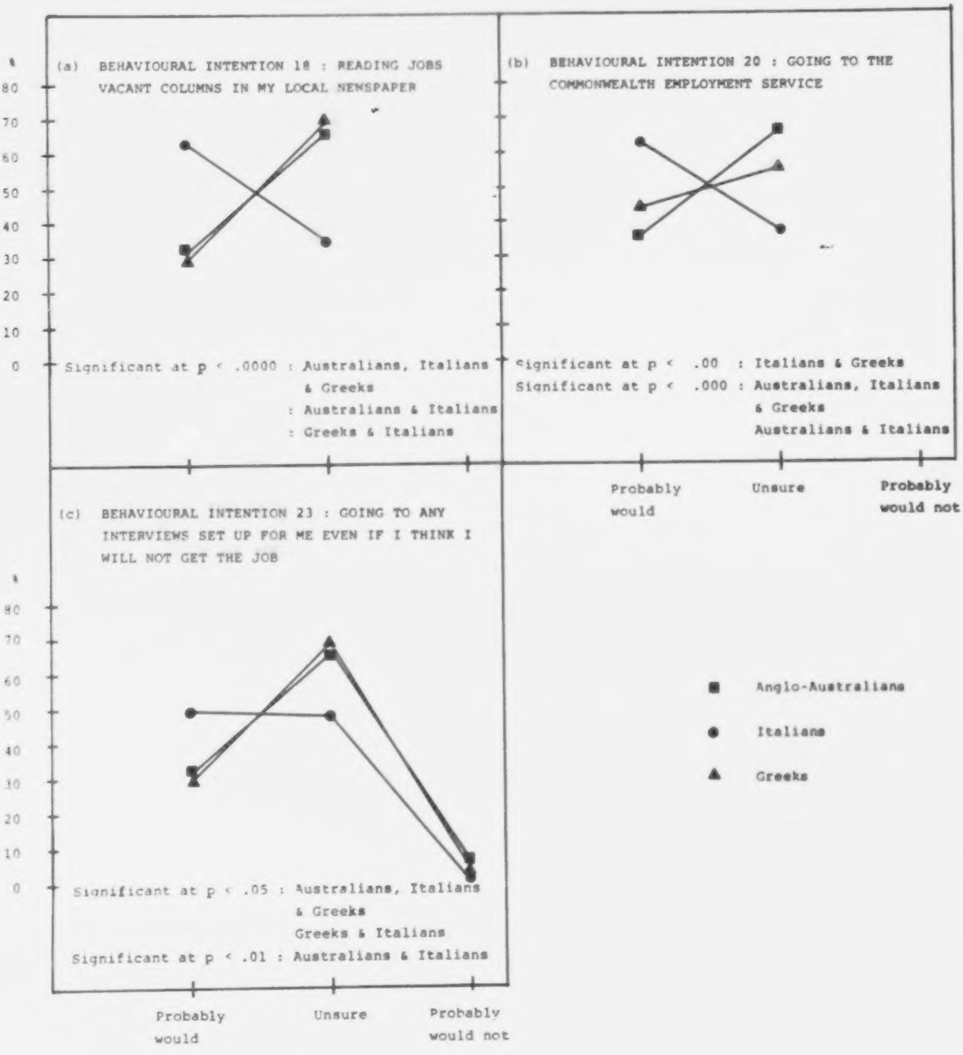
BI 26: *Reminding people of jobs they said might become available*

Thirty-six per cent of the Italians, 24 per cent of the Greeks and 18 per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate a willingness to do this. Most of the rest were in the unsure category (62 per cent, 74 per cent and 82 per cent respectively).

BI 29: *Going to a course recommended by CES, careers advisers or employers*

Forty-four per cent of the Italians, 26 per cent of the Greeks and 25 per cent of the Anglo-Australians indicate a willingness to do this with 56 per cent, 73 per cent and 73 per cent respectively in the unsure category.

Figure 10.2: Percentages who probably would, are unsure, or who probably would not carry out the selected behavioural intentions, according to ethnic background



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Once again overall patterns emerge but the patterns are more difficult to interpret. The most clear pattern is the strong indication of the Italians to do anything which might result in employment. This fits nicely with their already observed attitude towards finding a job. The Anglo-Australian's patterns on the other hand at first do not appear to merge well. On the one hand he appears to have a very strong desire (need) to work and on the other appears unsure whether he will go out and do the activities most likely to get him a job. However if the small number of Anglo-Australians *actually unemployed* is recalled (fifteen) then perhaps what is seen is a reflection of their reduced need to consider engaging in these job-seeking behaviours. The Greeks continue to indicate a more *laissez-faire* attitude towards job seeking presumably only being willing to engage in these activities if the job is seen as acceptable. Considerable caution about accepting these interpretations is advised and as is seen later other important variables as yet unanalysed may be major influences on these patterns.

10.7 Differences in the scale between the various ethnic groups

As with the attitude scale each pair of ethnic groups was further analysed for differences in the BI scale. It was found that no further differences emerged. The Greeks and Anglo-Australians differed significantly only on item 18, whereas the Greeks and Italians and the Anglo-Australians and Italians, differed significantly on items 18-23 and 29. It was therefore the Italians as a group that were different. They appeared more willing to engage in any activity that might be seen to get them a job.

10.8 Sex differences on the Attitude Scale

The first analysis made on the sex differences was to break down the groups by sex alone without regard to ethnic origin. When this was done males and females differed on five of the attitude items. As in previous sections each attitude is described and then they are put together to show the overall pattern.

Attitude ten. *If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed*

As would be expected more males (49 per cent) were willing to leave home than females (35 per cent) and more females disagreed with this item (30 per cent compared with 19 per cent of males). (See Figure 10.3(a).) This is in line with expected cultural differences between the sexes.

Attitude thirteen: *There is nothing wrong with being unemployed*

Forty-seven per cent of the females agreed with this compared to 36 per cent of the males and 24 per cent of the males disagreed with this compared to 11 per cent of the females (see Figure 10.3(b)). This again is in line with cultural values as many women are not in the work force, being married instead; also the pressure on women to work *per se* is far less as the conventional wisdom still is, why worry as she will probably get married anyway? Working is to a certain extent, marking time, in the minds of some girls and some of their parents too.

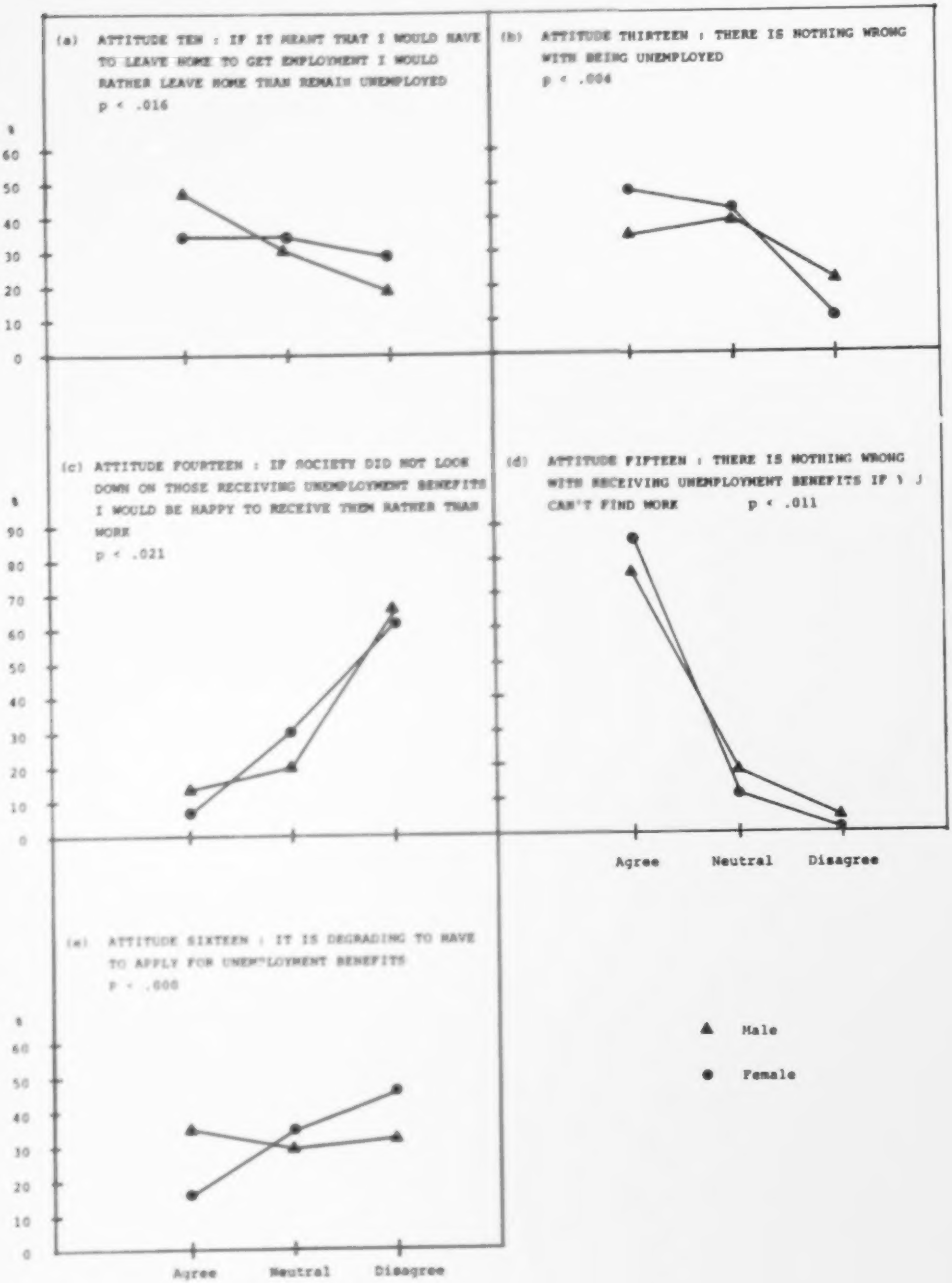
Attitude fourteen: *If society did not look down on those receiving unemployment benefits I would be happy to receive them rather than work*

Fourteen per cent of the males agreed with this compared to 6 per cent of the females and 22 per cent of the males were neutral compared to 30 per cent of the females. This is harder to interpret. A possible explanation might be that, as women more often stay longer in the family home than men and as this is seen as acceptable, the need to accept unemployment benefits may be less. They may not see unemployment benefits as an alternative that is relevant to them (see Figure 10.3(c)).

Attitude fifteen: *There is nothing wrong with receiving unemployment benefits if you can't find work*

Eighty-six per cent of the females compared to 76 per cent of the males agreed with this. The only explanation which might account for these seemingly inconsistent trends is that the female, while not

Figure 10.3: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to sex



(a) ATTITUDE TEN : IF IT MEANT THAT I WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE HOME TO GET EMPLOYMENT I WOULD RATHER LEAVE HOME THAN REMAIN UNEMPLOYED
p < .016

(b) ATTITUDE THIRTEEN : THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH BEING UNEMPLOYED
p < .004

(c) ATTITUDE FOURTEEN : IF SOCIETY DID NOT LOOK DOWN ON THOSE RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS I WOULD BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE THEM RATHER THAN WORK
p < .021

(d) ATTITUDE FIFTEEN : THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS IF I CAN'T FIND WORK p < .011

(e) ATTITUDE SIXTEEN : IT IS DEGRADING TO HAVE TO APPLY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS
p < .000

%
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
%
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
▲ Male
● Female

seeing benefits as necessary for herself, may know of males who are unable to find work and need the benefits to live. Males having a stronger pressure to work may also feel the correspondingly strong pressure to resist 'going on the dole' (see Figure 10.3(d)).

Attitude sixteen: *It is degrading to have to apply for unemployment benefits*

Thirty-six per cent of the males and 17 per cent of the females agreed with this. Forty-seven per cent of the females compared to 34 per cent of the males disagreed. This tends to support the tentative explanation offered above. The female being less likely to need unemployment benefits for herself is more likely to accept her unemployed male friends' need and probably sees having to apply as a necessity and right. However, to the male, who is in the position of being unemployed and needing money, having to apply is seen as undesirable (see Figure 10.3(e)).

If we put the patterns of the five attitude items together it further reinforces a differential view towards being employed. It appears that to the female working may be dependent on type of job and where it is; it may be that she can afford to be or is encouraged to be more selective. The male on the other hand has strong pressures put on him by society to find employment and is less likely to be supported by the family or to receive encouragement to be selective than is his female counterpart. He is correspondingly less easy-going about his attitude to unemployment but, as the response on attitude fourteen highlights, he may be starting to show that lifting the pressure would free him to be more accepting of those unemployed and of unemployment *per se*.

Sex differences by ethnic groups on the Attitude Scale

The next step in the analysis was a breakdown of the scores by sex and ethnic origin. This set of results produced very interesting patterns and helped to make clearer which of the differences were due to sex and which to ethnic origin.

Greek Males and Females: The Greek males and females differed on three of the attitude items. These differences are consistent over other breakdowns of the data and can be accepted fairly confidently as indicating a true set of differences in attitudes.

Attitude six: *Only those people with an interesting job can be expected to do their best work*

Fifty-eight per cent of the Greek males compared to 30 per cent of the Greek females agreed and 14 per cent of the Greek males compared to 30 per cent of the Greek females disagreed with this item. The importance of the type of job, noted to be a feature of the Greeks as a group (section 10.4), may be predominantly a male feature. This finding may also reflect either (1) the Greek girls' easier time to get an acceptable job (e.g. as a typist) or (2) the Greek girls' easier time at home, that is, the smaller pressure put on the girls to get a job *per se*.

Attitude nine: *If society were more accepting, I would happily remain unemployed*

None of the Greek males agreed with this and 86 per cent disagreed. While only 7 per cent of the females agreed, 36 per cent were neutral and only 58 per cent disagreed strongly. Here again it appears that it is the male who is the one needing to find a job that is acceptable to him and his family/society as the alternative option does not apply. This reinforces the pattern already seen that for the Greek male the job somehow helps to define his place in society and it may indeed be helping the Greek male to define himself.

Attitude sixteen: *It is degrading to have to take unemployment benefits*

Thirty-five per cent of the males compared to 14 per cent of the females agreed with this item and 21 per cent of the males compared to 43 per cent of the females were neutral. This again continues to support the importance to the Greek male of being employed but as will be seen again and again the type of job is also most important and in some cases makes taking unemployment benefits acceptable.

Overall the pattern supports what was already outlined about the Greeks and employment.

However, now it can be more clearly seen that it is the Greek males that mainly feel this way and in this respect can be seen to define work differently from the Greek females.

Italian Males and Females: Italian males and females differ at attitude items 10, 13 and 16. The results of these three attitude items are consistent with the overall cultural interpretations.

Attitude ten: *If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed*

Forty-seven per cent of the males and 24 per cent of the females agreed with this item. Twenty per cent of the males compared to 40 per cent of the females disagreed. This finding is in line with expected cultural values concerning the family and its role of protection over the female members.

Attitude thirteen: *There is nothing wrong with being unemployed*

Forty-nine per cent of the females and 31 per cent of the males agree with this statement whereas 25 per cent of the males and only 9 per cent of the females disagree. Once again we may be seeing a differential view of work as we have already seen exists within the Greek population. It is possible that this difference is mainly due to sex rather than to ethnic origin.

Attitude sixteen: *It is degrading to have to apply for unemployment benefits*

Forty-one per cent of the males compared to 18 per cent of the females agreed with this item and 27 per cent of the males compared to 53 per cent of the females disagreed. This is again in line with the already postulated view of a difference in the meaning of being employed.

Overall the Italian males and females do not appear very different from the Greek males and females except that the family seems to be most important to the Italian female.

Anglo-Australian Males and Females. No differences emerged between the Anglo-Australian males and females overall.

The pattern that is most obvious here and which appears consistent is that for the Greeks and Italians a difference in the definition of employment exists between males and females. Because no differences occurred within the Anglo-Australian sample it must be concluded that this difference in the definition of work depends upon the country of origin. To both the Greek and Italian males being employed appears to carry with it more than just a money-making function. It is probably being used to help define self and is certainly seen as helping to define place within the family and society. The Greek and Italian females are less likely to see employment as essential to their place in society and this is what would be expected if marriage is seen as the goal or end in itself rather than employment.

In both cases, the greatest differences between these groups and Anglo-Australians come from the Greek males and the Italian males. Of the three groups the Greek males appear to invest in the type of job with the greatest amount of power to define self in society, the Italian although doing this, too, also sees employment *per se* as important, while to the Anglo-Australian it appears that the most important function of a job is to have it.

When differences by each pair of ethnic groups by sex are examined all the previous trends are strengthened and supported. The females particularly appear to be more dissimilar to each other than do their male counterparts, perhaps because the pressure to be employed is likely to be stronger on any male than on any female and therefore the female is freer to express a more flexible approach to employment.

Greek and Italian Males. Greek and Italian males do differ on four attitudes. These four attitudes reinforce the already explained differences between these groups, that is, the Greek holds a dual function for a job, its money-making potential plus its acceptability, while the Italian is more likely to concentrate on the type of job. It does appear that for the Greek male the task of getting a job must carry a lot of stress and pressure. Not only must the job be seen to be the right type of job, it must also make money. All that would be alright if the pressure to get a job were not strong, too and so the Greek carries additional pressures compared with either the Italian, who seeks the right type of job but is less likely to see money as important, or the Anglo-Australian, who seems to just want to have a job.

Greek and Anglo-Australian Males. There are only two attitude items on which Anglo-Australian and Greek males differ. Both of these support the idea that for the Anglo-Australians the most important thing is to have a job *per se*.

Italian and Anglo-Australian Males. The Italian and Anglo-Australian males only differ on one attitude item and this reinforces the idea that for the Italian male the type of job is more important than having a job *per se* while the opposite seems to be true for Anglo-Australians.

Greek and Italian Females. The Greek and Italian females differ on four attitude items. These differences reinforce the idea that the Greek female appears to have a less strong need/desire to get a job than does the Italian female. This may be explained by the fact that the Greek female's family puts less pressure on her to get a job than the Italian female's family, or it may indicate a more selective approach to the type of work considered appropriate. This latter explanation is more in line with the overall ethnic differences noted in section 10.4.

Greek and Anglo-Australian Females. Greek and Anglo-Australian females also differ on four attitude items although not the same four on which the Greeks and Italians differ. Once again the results support the already reported trends, that is, the Anglo-Australian female appears to want a job *per se* while the Greek female appears more selective about where the job is and what type of job it is. She appears more willing to wait for the 'right' job.

Italian and Anglo-Australian Females. Italian and Anglo-Australian females differ on five attitude items. Here again the noted cultural difference between Italians and Anglo-Australians is supported. The Anglo-Australian female is more likely to see a job *per se* as important while the Italian female is more likely to be selective in the place of employment and type of job. She is more likely to look for the 'right' employment.

Overall the pattern of cultural differences is supported. The breakdown by sex adds an additional difference in definition of employment but within this basic difference the cultural differences still appear. Attitudes towards employment by sex and ethnic origin have important effects overall, in that males, whether Greek, Italian or Anglo-Australian, tend to share the same basic values and/or pressures about the need to be employed, whereas females, whether Greek, Italian or Anglo-Australian, appear to share the same basic flexibility in the approach to being employed. The only real exception to this is the Anglo-Australian female who appears to share more common attitudes towards work with her male counterpart more often. This is not surprising as in a culture such as Australia one would expect that the influence of 'women's lib.' would be more likely to have an effect on Anglo-Australians than on cultures holding more traditional sex roles. It is not meant to imply that Greek or Italian cultures do not also have a form of women's liberation; in Australia, however, the laws are being gradually changed to lend legal as well as moral support to the claims of women for equality in work.

The following pages present two tables showing which items each of the groups differed on. Each attitude measure is analysed separately. Only those items for which the differences in the distributions were statistically significant at the 5 per cent level were included in the analyses. Many more closely approached this level, which tends to lend further support for the conclusion that ethnic origin does affect the person's attitudes towards employment.

10.9 Differences on the Behavioural Intention (BI) Scale by sex and ethnic group

If Table 10.3 is examined it is apparent that the differences noted on the BI scale are almost all accounted for by the Italian female. The Italian female indicates a greater willingness to do any of the listed activities than her male counterpart and Greek or Anglo-Australian females. Most of these differences are significant at the .001 per cent level.

BI 19. *Asking my father to help me find a job*

This item discriminated between Greek males and females with the males being more willing to do this. The Greek male is also more willing than the Anglo-Australian male to do this although the percentage of jobs found through parents is considerably lower than that of Anglo-Australians (11 compared to 19 per cent). This was also the only item which discriminated between males as a group and females as a group with the males being more likely to be willing to do this.

BI 26. *Reminding people of jobs they said might become available*

This is the only other item which is accounted for by a group other than Italian females. The Greek male is more likely than his female counterpart to be willing to do this.

What makes Italian females so different from every other group? If Table 10.2, which shows the differences between ethnic groups, is examined it can be easily seen that here too the differences are accounted for by the Italians as a group. Although the males do not differ significantly from any of the other groups on their own, there is a definite trend that indicates that of all the groups the Italian is the one most willing to try the various activities which might lead to a job.

This must reflect an important cultural value. Working would seem to be extremely important to the Italian, however, as the type of job is also important the amount of job seeking to get the 'right' type of job would probably be greater than if the Italian simply wished to be employed *per se*, as the Anglo-Australian apparently does.

What is still puzzling is why the Italian female is apparently under greater pressure to be looking for employment. It might be that she needs to be at least engaged in job seeking if not employed. Or, it may be that this desire/need to engage in every form of job-seeking activity comes from within the Italian female stereotype thus it is not necessary for the parents to exert pressure as her role is already clearly defined and therefore the pressure is internal. Only further study would resolve this problem.

The next pages contain the graphs of the distributions for the five attitude items which discriminated between the ethnic groups overall, which from the basis of the explanations about the differences between the groups. There are also graphs of three of the behavioural intention items which are typical of the types of distributions between the groups on these items. In every case the Italian distribution differs from the Anglo-Australian and Greek distributions more than either of the other two differ from each other.

10.10 The effects of employment on Attitude and Behavioural Intention (BI) Items

On the interview schedule there were two questions which dealt with current employment status—question four and question forty-six. Both of these looked at employment status, one by time unemployed before current job and the other by examining those on unemployment benefits and those not on unemployment benefits. The analysis looks at both of these questions. Table 10.4 illustrates the breakdown by number, ethnic origin and sex of question 4 and Table 10.5 illustrates breakdown by number, ethnic origin and sex of question 46.

Question forty-six

Question forty-six is examined first. Its relevant categories are:

1. Working—full time or part time
2. Not working and on unemployment benefits
3. Not working and not on unemployment benefits

Table 10.2: **Items on the Attitude Measures which discriminate between the ethnic groups**

Groups	*Attitude Items*	*Behavioural Intention Items*
Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian	3,5,10,11 & 17	18,19,20,21,22,23,26 & 29
Greek & Italian	3,8,11,14 & 17	18,19,20,21,22,23 & 29
Greek & Anglo-Australian	4,5,8,10,11 & 17	19
Italian & Anglo-Australian	3,5,10 & 17	18,19,20,21,22,23,26 & 29

Table 10.3: **Items on the Attitude Measures which discriminate between ethnic groups divided by sex (1980–81 survey)**

Group	*Attitude Items*	*Behavioural Intention Items*
Greek Males & Females	6,9,16	19 & 26
Italian Males & Females	1,10,13 & 16	18,19,20,22 & 29
Anglo-Australian Males and Females	No differences	No differences
Greek & Italian Males	3,6,9,17	No differences
Greek & Italian Females	1,8,9,11	18,19,20,21,22,23,26 & 29
Greek & Anglo-Australian Males	10,11 19	
Greek & Anglo-Australian Females	2,5,10 & 17	No differences
Italian & Anglo-Australian Males	5	No differences
Italian & Anglo-Australian Females	1,3,5,10 & 17	18,19,20,21,22,23,26 & 29
Males and Females	10,13,14,15 & 16	

Table 10.4: **Employment status of the sample by ethnic group and sex, as used in the attitude analysis (1980–81 survey)**

Status	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Currently employed	27	29	32	35	45	33
Currently employed after 4 months unemployed	14	14	8	15	1	10
Currently unemployed	11	13	9	18	6	9
Total	52	56	49	68	52	52

Table 10.5: **Characteristics of the unemployed persons in the sample by ethnic group and sex, as used in the attitude analysis (1980–81 survey)**

Status	*Greek*		*Italian*		*Anglo-Australian*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Currently employed	41	43	40	50	46	43
Currently unemployed and on benefits	9	9	7	13	5	5
Currently unemployed and not on benefits	2	4	2	5	1	4
Total	52	56	49	68	52	52

There were four attitude items which discriminated between the three groups but as the number in category three was small (eighteen) it was decided to look only at the broader groups of employed and unemployed. The first breakdown was a general one of total employed and total unemployed and there were five attitude items which discriminated between these two groups.

Attitude ten: *If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed*

More employed agreed with this item (45 per cent) then unemployed (29 per cent) and less disagreed (22 per cent and 36 per cent respectively). This is in line with previously noted cultural trends that Greeks and Italians are less likely to leave home to get a job and more likely to be unemployed (see Figure 10.4(a)).

Attitude eleven: *I would rather work at anything than be unemployed*

Thirty-five per cent of those unemployed disagreed with this item compared to 16 per cent of those employed and 47 per cent of the employed agreed compared to 28 per cent of those unemployed. Once again it appears to be cultural values that determine the answer to this question. For the Italians and Greeks the nature of work appears to have a lot of personal identity and social status attached to it and therefore the type of job is very important. As we do not have a large enough sample of Anglo-Australians who are unemployed it is difficult to know whether the same trends would emerge on this question; previous results would tend to suggest not (see Figure 10.4(b)).

Attitude twelve: *Being unemployed means that society looks down on you as lazy*

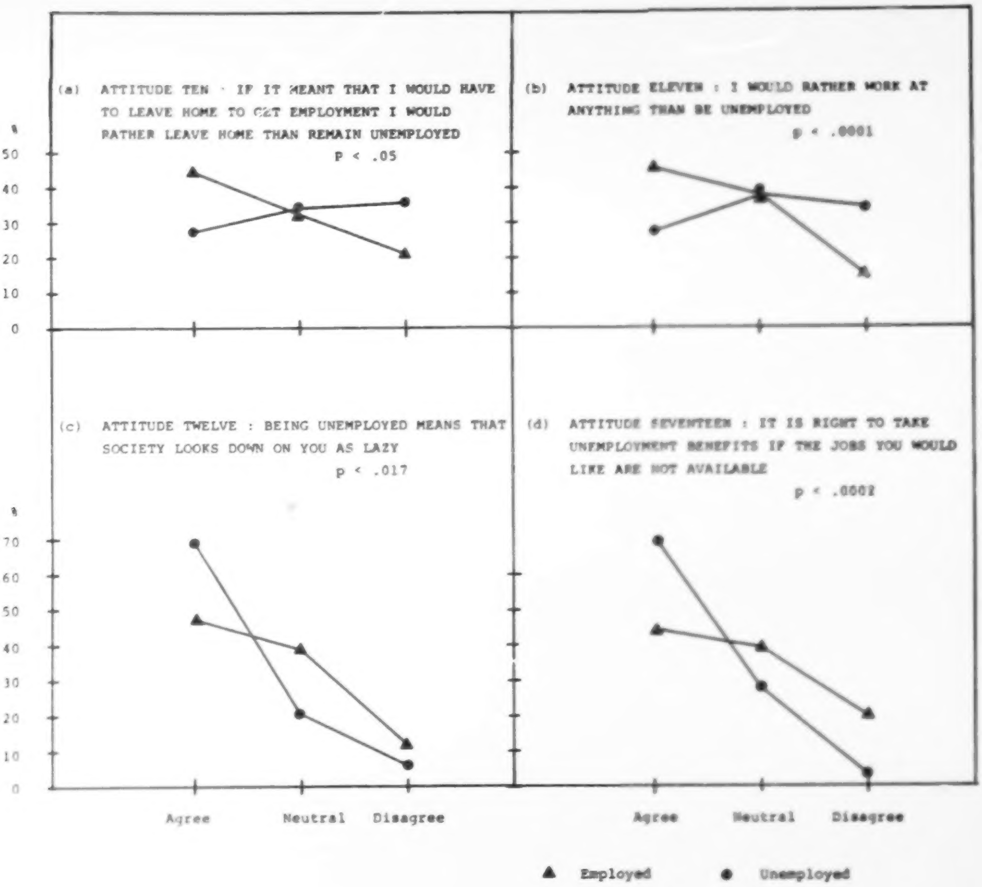
Seventy per cent of those unemployed agree with this compared to 48 per cent of the employed. It is not surprising that the results are in this direction and this requires no further explanation (see Figure 10.4(c)).

Attitude seventeen: *It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are not available*

The results are in line with expectations with 70 per cent of the unemployed agreeing with this item compared to 43 per cent of those employed. It is difficult to isolate the effects of unemployment and ethnic background on this question but previous results suggest ethnic origin accounts for most of the difference noted (see Figure 10.4(d)).

To be sure that ethnic origin and not time unemployed was the major contributor a regression analysis was done on the items. Items ten had ethnic origin at the top of the list followed by employment status, but attitude seventeen had the reverse order, employment status followed by ethnic origin. It would appear that the right to go on umemployment benefits until the desired job comes along may be one of the factors that differentiate those who take jobs that come and are

Figure 10.4: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to whether employed or unemployed



therefore employed from those who prefer to wait it out. Three other questions attempted to get at the idea that being unemployed was okay as long as society accepted it and a job was waiting eventually. On two of these items (items 8 and 14) ethnic origin was the primary source of variation, whereas on item 9 time unemployed and sex were the important contributors. It would appear that a complex definition of employment is required to take into account the variations noted between ethnic groups and such a definition is examined in section 10.15. A few hypotheses are offered as possible explanations to account for the differences.

The other item which discriminated between the two groups and whose regression showed employment status as the major contributor was item 12: 'I would rather work at anything than be unemployed'. Maybe there is some factor in those unemployed which makes them less likely to just take any job—perhaps length of time, the next most important contributor on this item, is what is the important variable.

Some light is shed on the problem if each ethnic group is examined separately. Item 11, for example, nicely reflects the interaction of ethnic origin and employment. In the case of the Greeks this item does not discriminate between the two groups. There is a slight tendency for those unemployed to disagree with this item and the corresponding slight tendency of those employed to agree with this item. It is obvious however that being Greek affects the way this item is answered as much as being employed and unemployed. The Italians and Anglo-Australians on the other hand do show discrimination between those employed and those unemployed. The Italian is more likely to disagree with this item if he is unemployed and more likely to agree if he is employed. This trend is even more marked in the Anglo-Australian. If we accept that employment plays a different role according to culture and that to the Anglo-Australian the norm is to be employed 'no matter what', then it is not unreasonable to assume that some of those unemployed chose to remain so as they are more selective about the job they take. This would be true to a lesser degree with the Italian who tends to be more likely to hunt for a certain type of job in the first place.

These observations are supported when the number and items themselves are examined by ethnic group. The Greeks only differ in one, the Italians in three and the Anglo-Australian on five! This is the largest number of items to discriminate the Anglo-Australians in any of the breakdowns to date. This tends to give credence to the idea that employment itself rather than ethnic influences determines the Anglo-Australians' answer.

The Greek Differences

Attitude thirteen: *There is nothing wrong with being unemployed*

Those unemployed tend to both agree and disagree more with this item (58 per cent and 25 per cent) than those employed (42 per cent and 15 per cent). These results probably reflect the degree to which the various functions of employment influence the individual. A discussion of these influences follows in 10.15.

The Italian Differences.

Item eleven was discussed earlier.

Attitude twelve: *Being unemployed means that society looks down on you as lazy*

The unemployed Italian is far more likely to agree with this than the employed Italian (74 per cent and 48 per cent).

Attitude seventeen: *It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are unavailable*

Again the unemployed Italian is more likely to agree with this than the employed Italian (82 per cent and 43 per cent).

The Anglo-Australian Differences

Attitude one: *The happiest people are those whose work is something they can do whether or not they are employed*

The unemployed Anglo-Australian is less likely to agree and more likely to disagree than the employed Anglo-Australian (52 per cent and 40 per cent compared with 2 per cent and 20 per cent respectively). Once again the Anglo-Australian's desire to be employed is noticeable.

Attitude three: *The only purpose of working is to make money*

The unemployed Anglo-Australian is far more likely to agree with this than his employed counterpart (73 per cent and 33 per cent). Obviously the money/security function of employment begins to assume great importance when it is denied the Anglo-Australian. No other ethnic group showed this marked tendency to polarise the function of work when unemployed. This might reflect the fact that for many Anglo-Australians unemployment has not been a problem and therefore money/security not so much either. Once faced with the problem the security/money function assumes greater importance.

Attitude eleven was dealt with before.

Attitude twelve: *Being unemployed means that society looks down on you as lazy*

The unemployed Anglo-Australian is far more likely to agree with this (73 per cent) than the employed Anglo-Australian (45 per cent).

Attitude seventeen: *It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are unavailable*

The unemployed Anglo-Australian is far more likely to agree with this (60 per cent) than the employed Anglo-Australian (32 per cent).

These last two results add nothing new to the picture.

The final breakdown on this question was that by sex. Employed males differed from unemployed males on four attitude items and employed females differed from unemployed females on two attitude items.

Male Differences

Attitude four: *It does not matter whether or not I get any money for my work as long as I am happy with what I do*

Fifty-four per cent of those unemployed disagreed with this item compared to 30 per cent of those employed. This finding lends further support to the hypothesis outlined before. To be male carries with it the expectation that he will be the provider of security/money to the family, either his parental home (where he may be contributor) or his own home.

Attitude eleven: *I would rather work at anything than be unemployed*

Fifty per cent of the unemployed males disagreed with this statement compared to 9 per cent of those employed. It does appear that those unemployed may be adding a selectivity factor to their search for work. It may be that their desire to work is less than their desire to work at a particular type of job.

Attitude twelve: *Being unemployed means that society looks down on you as lazy*

Those unemployed are more likely to agree (77 per cent) with this item than those employed (49 per cent).

Attitude seventeen: *It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are not available*

Those unemployed are far more likely to agree with this item (81 per cent) than those employed (41 per cent).

These last two items merely reflect the persistent trend on these issues.

Female Differences

Attitude nine: *If the society I live in were more accepting, I would happily remain unemployed*

Those unemployed are more likely to be unsure about this item (41 per cent) and less likely to disagree (51 per cent) than those employed (20 per cent and 74 per cent respectively).

It was noted before that the female is able to be more flexible in her approach to employment.

Attitude ten: *If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed*

Those unemployed are less likely to agree with this item (20 per cent) than those employed (40 per cent) and more likely to disagree (48 per cent and 24 per cent respectively). As more Greek and

Italian females are unemployed and they are also less likely to want to leave home, this result is predictable.

Behavioural Intentions (BI) and Employment Status

There is only one behavioural intention which discriminates between the two groups—BI27.

BI 27: *Remaining at school until I have completed Higher School Certificate*

Those employed are slightly more likely to be unsure about this item (73 per cent) compared to the unemployed (67 per cent) and the unemployed more likely to disagree (8 per cent) than the employed (2 per cent).

If the BI items are further broken down by ethnic group and sex only one other item emerges as significant but the source of the overall differences noted above become clear.

Greek Differences

BI 25: *Asking my girlfriend or boyfried to help me find work*

More employed Greeks will probably do this (16 per cent) than unemployed (6 per cent). Most of the responses are in the unsure interval in both groups. It appears that there is a general cultural reluctance to do this but those employed show that they are slightly more willing.

BI 27: *Remaining at high school until I have completed Higher School Certificate*

Seventeen per cent of unemployed Greeks probably will not stay at school compared to 6 per cent of those employed. Whether this reflects actual practice is open to question but as Greeks tend to stay longer at school anyway it probably does.

Italian Differences

No differences were noted on any Behavioural Intention item.

Anglo-Australian Differences

No differences were noted on any Behavioural item.

Males Differences.

No differences were noted on any Behavioural Intention item

Female Differences

BI 25: *Asking my girlfriend or boyfriend to help me find work*

Employed females are slightly more likely to do this (12 per cent) than unemployed females (4 per cent). The majority are in the unsure category and this again reflects the general reluctance to use this form of job seeking.

BI 27: *Remaining at school until I have completed Higher School Certificate*

Employed females are more likely to do this (28 per cent) than unemployed females (18 per cent).

As with the attitude items the BI items were subjected to a regression analysis. The variation in BI 25 was accounted for most by time unemployed, followed by ethnic group and so was BI 27 although other factors such as sex and employment status tended to weigh almost equally.

It appears that the longer you are employed the more likely things which might have been rejected before might now be considered. Although the level of agreement with these items is still less than those of the employed group one could postulate a new and changing view of the activities.

To understand this, time unemployed was looked at and the results are set out in section 10.11. However, as neither of the items above reach a significant level they are not discussed in that section. They do however follow the trend proposed—in terms of total time unemployed there is a slight drop in intention to do the activity over time but it is still higher than those who have never been unemployed. Tables 10.6–10.9 illustrate the trends and it can be seen that in general they do support the hypothesis.

Question four

Question four relates to current employment status and time unemployed before the current job and as such it was the next question in the analysis to be looked at. Although only two categories of

Table 10.6: **Total time unemployed and its effect on BI 25**

	Number of months unemployed			
Intention	*0*	*1–3*	*4–6*	*7 or more*
		Percentages		
Probably will	8	16	13	12
Unsure	88	80	87	84
Probably will not	4	4	0	4

Table 10.7: **Time unemployed before first job and its effect on BI 25**

	Number of months unemployed				
Intention	*0*	*1–3*	*4–6*	*7 or more*	*Never employed*
			Percentages		
Probably will	10	18	4	25	0
Unsure	85	80	92	75	96
Probably will not	5	2	4	0	4

Table 10.8: **Total time unemployed and its effect in BI 27**

	Number of months unemployed			
Intention	*0*	*1–3*	*4–6*	*7 or more*
		Percentages		
Probably will	20	29	30	30
Unsure	78	71	67	64
Probably will not	3	0	3	6

Table 10.9: **Time unemployed before first job and its effect on BI 27**

	Number of months unemployed				
Intention	*0*	*1–3*	*4–6*	*7 or more*	*Never employed*
			Percentages		
Probably will	24	30	24	35	22
Unsure	73	69	70	65	74
Probably will not	3	1	6	0	4

previous unemployment are covered in this question, it was this question which first indicated the importance of the time unemployed and its effect on attitude items. Its categories are:

1. Now employed—was unemployed for less than four months
2. Now employed—was unemployed for four or more months
3. Now unemployed

Five of the attitude items discriminate between the three groups. The results of these are best represented graphically (see Figures 10.5(a) to (e)). It can be seen from the graphs that sometimes the employed groups resemble each other, sometimes the currently employed after four or more months unemployed more closely resemble the unemployed group and sometimes it is between the two.

If we examine the attitudes themselves no definite pattern emerges. On the two attitude items which might relate directly to getting a job, 10 and 11, the currently employed after four months unemployed group resembles the unemployed group on item 10 and the employed group on item 11. On items 12 and 17 the currently employed group occupies an intermediate position between the two other groups and in item 13 it resembles the unemployed group more closely.

What these results tend to suggest is that some change is occurring over a period of unemployment. No systematic pattern emerges though and the next section attempts to take a closer look at time unemployed to see if any pattern can be found.

Behavioural Intentions and Question four

Five behavioural intentions discriminated between the three groups. In all cases those now employed but who had been unemployed for four months or more were most likely to be willing to do the activities. It may be that there is a peak time to be unemployed which motivates the greatest amount of job-seeking and the widest variety of job seeking activities. The latter interpretation best fits the results presented in the next session.

Interestingly, those unemployed were usually the next most willing group. Being employed may lead to a confidence in the method which was successful or it may indicate a lack of necessity to consider job-seeking activities that may be distasteful to most people, e.g. asking parents to get them a job.

10.11 Time unemployed and its effect on attitudes

The time unemployed was looked at two ways, first by total number of months unemployed and secondly by number of months unemployed before first job. Table 10.10 shows the distribution of the sample according to the duration of unemployment before the first job, while Table 10.11 shows the distribution according to the total time unemployed. The results show that each variable has different effects. When the total number of months is examined seven attitude items (4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 17) discriminate between the groups selected, while when number of months before first job is examined four attitude items (4, 10, 15 and 17) discriminate between the groups.

The easiest way to show the results of this analysis is by graph. Accordingly, each interval is shown on the same graph and it can be seen immediately which groups change and from which position the change is most marked. The first set of graphs (Figures 10.6(a) to (g)) represent the total number of months unemployed, while the next set of graphs (Figures 10.7(a) to (d)) represent the number of months unemployed before the first job.

These results suggest that the length of time unemployed in total exerts more of an influence on attitude patterns than does the time unemployed before the first job. What is interesting is that two possible explanations suggest themselves, but it is not possible as yet to determine which might be the best, or if a combination of both is what is working.

The most obvious one is that the length of time unemployed influences the attitudes held towards being unemployed and on unemployment benefits. The way in which these attitudes are influenced appears to be in changes, usually of one degree, that is from disagree to unsure, or vice versa, or unsure to agree and vice versa. However, there are some attitude items where this does not hold and as no fixed pattern emerges the way is open for speculation.

Table 10.10: **Distribution of the sample by ethnic group and sex according to time unemployed before first job (1980–81 survey)**

Sex and ethnic group	*Never unemployed*	*1–3 months unemployed*	*4–6 months unemployed*	*7 or more months unemployed*	*Never unemployed*
Greek male	26	11	5	5	5
Greek female	17	17	8	5	9
Italian male	29	13	6	0	1
Italian female	26	18	9	7	8
Anglo-Aust. male	44	5	1	0	2
Anglo-Aust. female	30	15	4	1	2
Total	172	79	33	18	27

Table 10.11: **Distribution of the sample by ethnic group and sex according to total time unemployed (1980–81 survey)**

Sex and ethnic group	*Never unemployed*	*1–3 months unemployed*	*4–6 months unemployed*	*7 or more months unemployed*
Greek male	18	9	8	17
Greek female	13	18	10	15
Italian male	23	11	11	4
Italian female	16	18	20	14
Anglo-Aust. male	37	8	2	5
Anglo-Aust. female	16	7	10	
Total	126	80	58	65

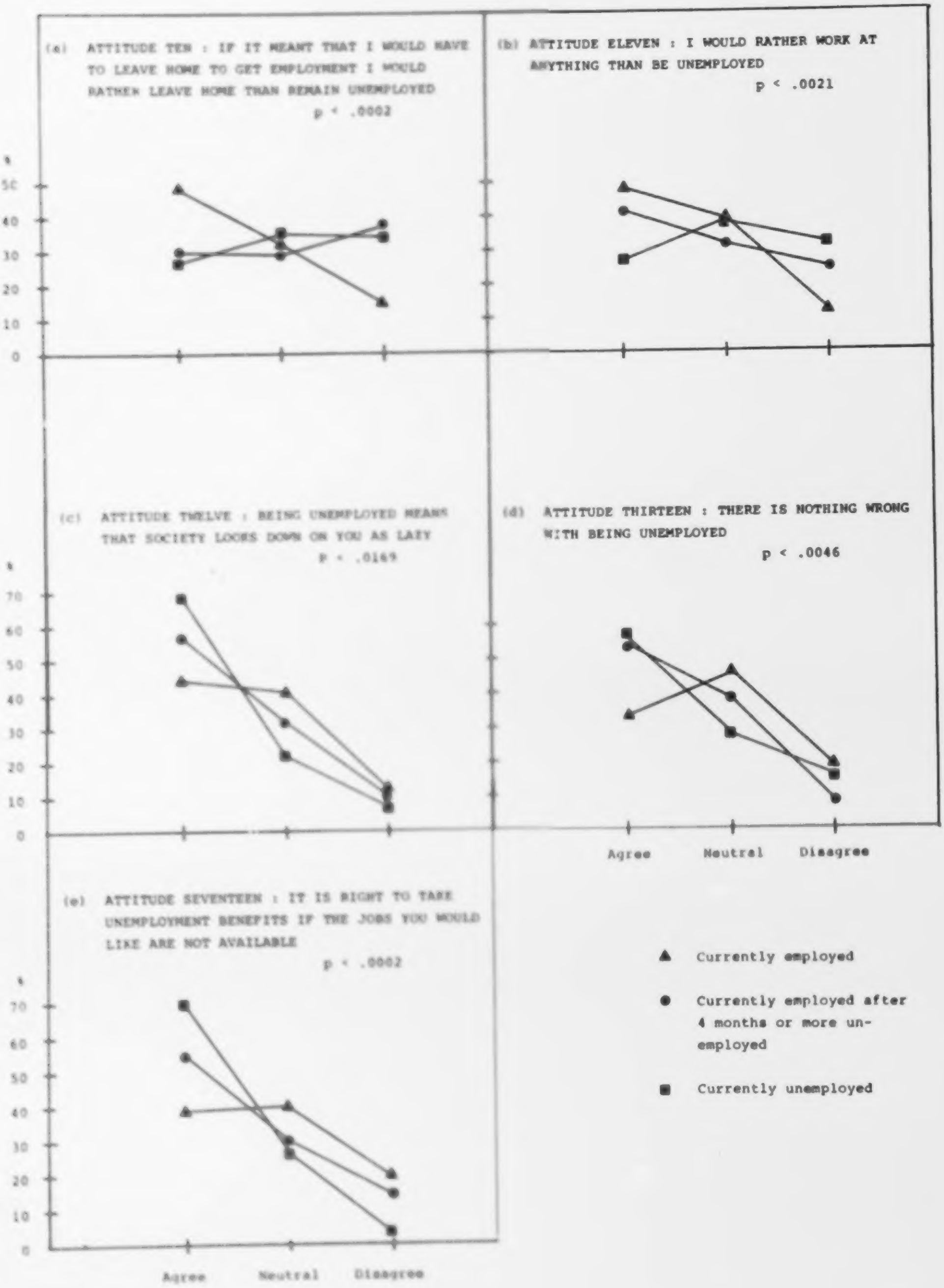
If we assume that most people fall on an introvert–extrovert continuum such as that proposed by Eysenck (1952), then a possible explanation begins to make sense of the changes noted. The extrovert is one who is open to stimulation and change, in fact requires it to function efficiently. It is possible that under the influence of being unemployed his attitude system begins to change and the changes start fairly soon after being unemployed and continue over the time unemployed until either a new stable level is reached or employment is attained and the attitudes change to be in line with this.

The introvert on the other hand is slower to react and as such the length of time unemployed will be longer before changes are made and the changes will occur less regularly than those of the extrovert. If this were the case then the cases where large changes are seen or where every internal group shows a change might be the times at which the more introverted members are changing.

Attitudes are notoriously resistant to permanent change and this may account for, in some cases, the similarity between the never employed and the never unemployed groups, when time unemployed before first job is examined. However when long-term experience is the factor exerting influence on attitudes then evidence suggests they are more likely to change and it may be that there is an optimum time of being unemployed which is most likely to cause a change in attitudes towards employment. In the extrovert this optimum time would come sooner than in the introvert and the extrovert would also be more open to experiencing more than one change.

This explanation depends largely on psychological factors and is somewhat complex. However, a more economical one is that time unemployed is associated with ethnic origin and sex. That is, there are more Greeks unemployed and more females unemployed for larger periods of time. The

Figure 10.5: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to employment status (Q. 4)



(a) ATTITUDE TEN : IF IT MEANT THAT I WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE HOME TO GET EMPLOYMENT I WOULD RATHER LEAVE HOME THAN REMAIN UNEMPLOYED
p < .0002

(b) ATTITUDE ELEVEN : I WOULD RATHER WORK AT ANYTHING THAN BE UNEMPLOYED
p < .0021

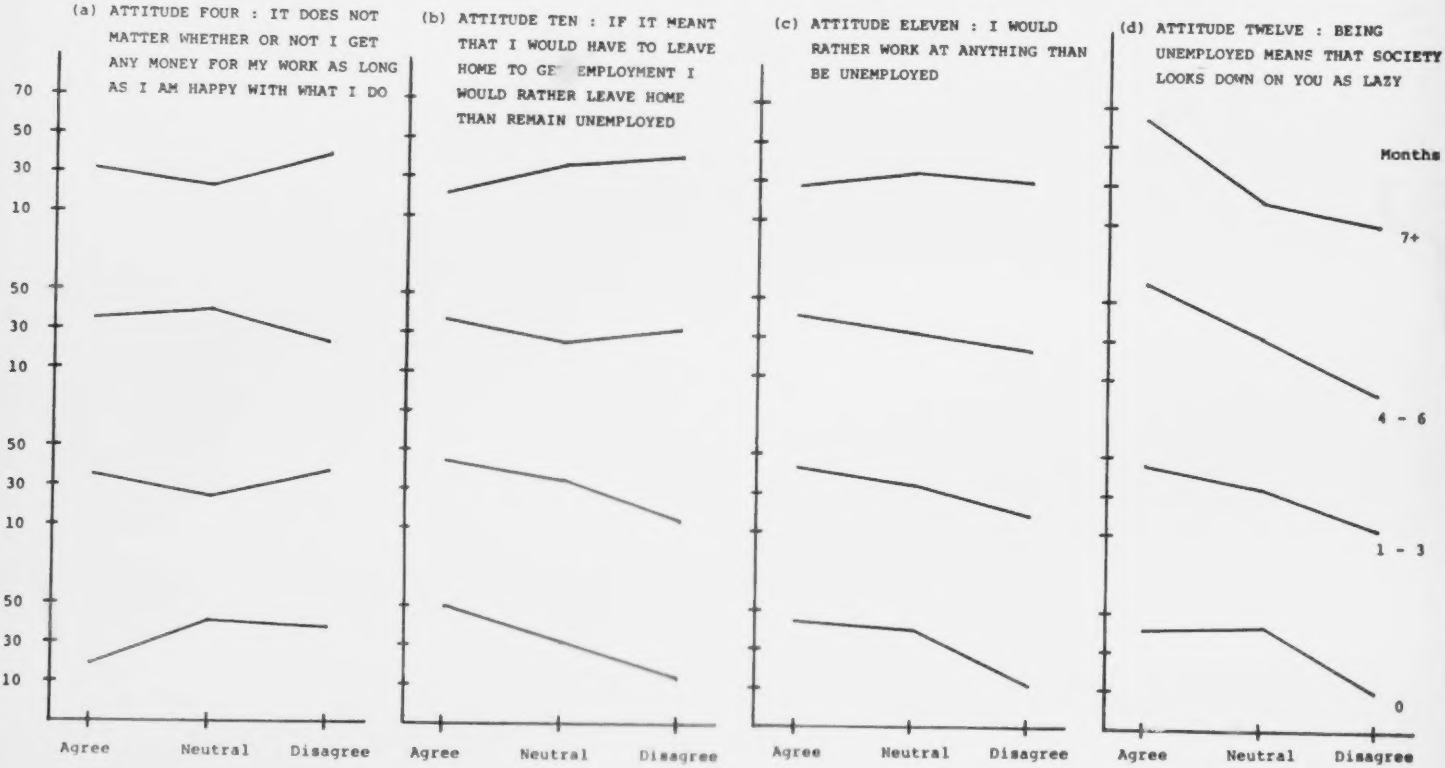
(c) ATTITUDE TWELVE : BEING UNEMPLOYED MEANS THAT SOCIETY LOOKS DOWN ON YOU AS LAZY
p < .0169

(d) ATTITUDE THIRTEEN : THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH BEING UNEMPLOYED
p < .0046

(e) ATTITUDE SEVENTEEN : IT IS RIGHT TO TAKE UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS IF THE JOBS YOU WOULD LIKE ARE NOT AVAILABLE
p < .0002

%
50
40
30
20
10
0
%
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
%
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
▲ Currently employed
● Currently employed after 4 months or more unemployed
■ Currently unemployed

Figure 10.6: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to the total number of months of unemployment


(a) ATTITUDE FOUR : IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT I GET ANY MONEY FOR MY WORK AS LONG AS I AM HAPPY WITH WHAT I DO

(b) ATTITUDE TEN : IF IT MEANT THAT I WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE HOME TO GET EMPLOYMENT I WOULD RATHER LEAVE HOME THAN REMAIN UNEMPLOYED

(c) ATTITUDE ELEVEN : I WOULD RATHER WORK AT ANYTHING THAN BE UNEMPLOYED

(d) ATTITUDE TWELVE : BEING UNEMPLOYED MEANS THAT SOCIETY LOOKS DOWN ON YOU AS LAZY

70
50
30
10
50
30
10
50
30
10
50
30
10
Months
7+
4 - 6
1 - 3
0
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
Agree
Neutral
Disagree
Agree
Neutral
Disagree

Figure 10.6 *continued*

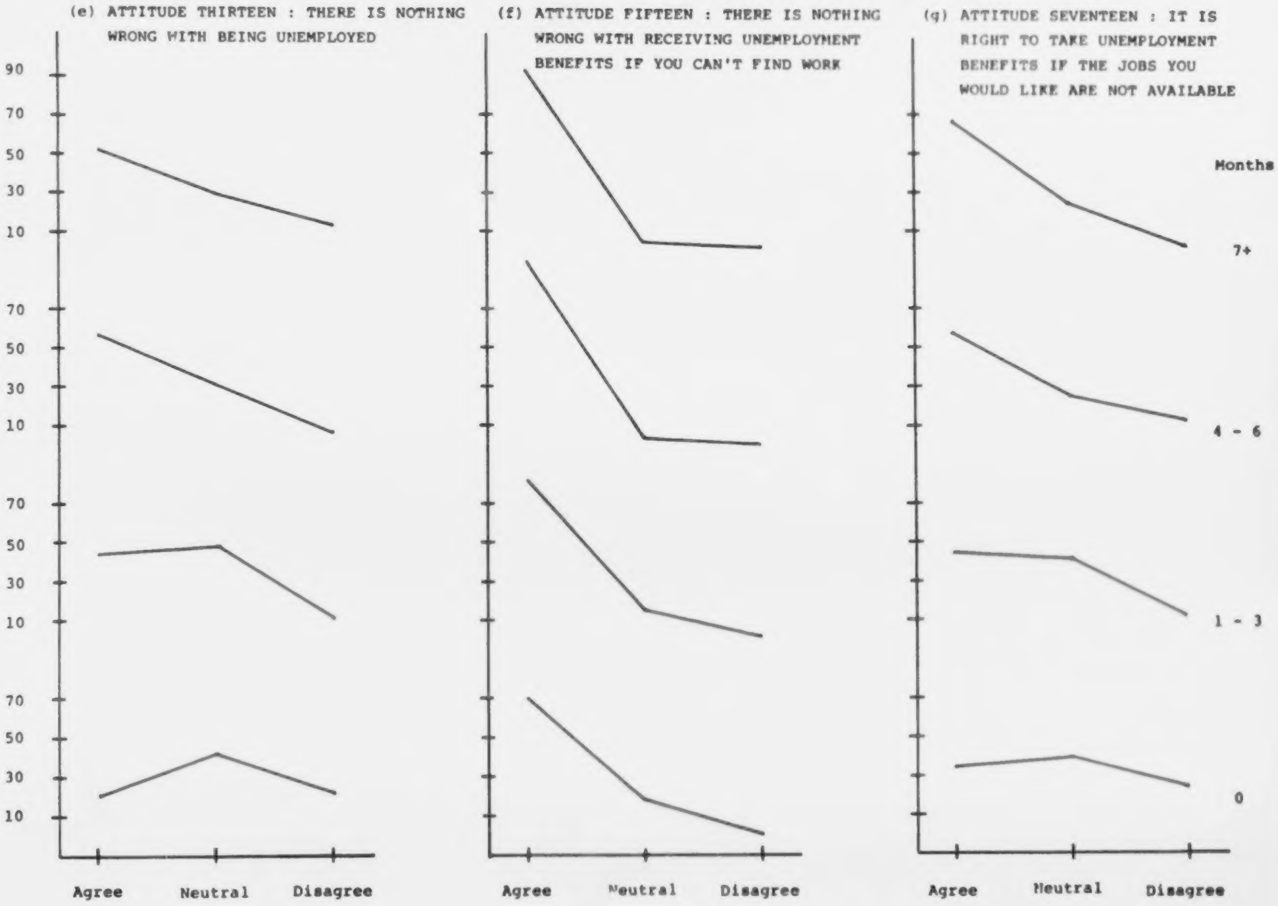
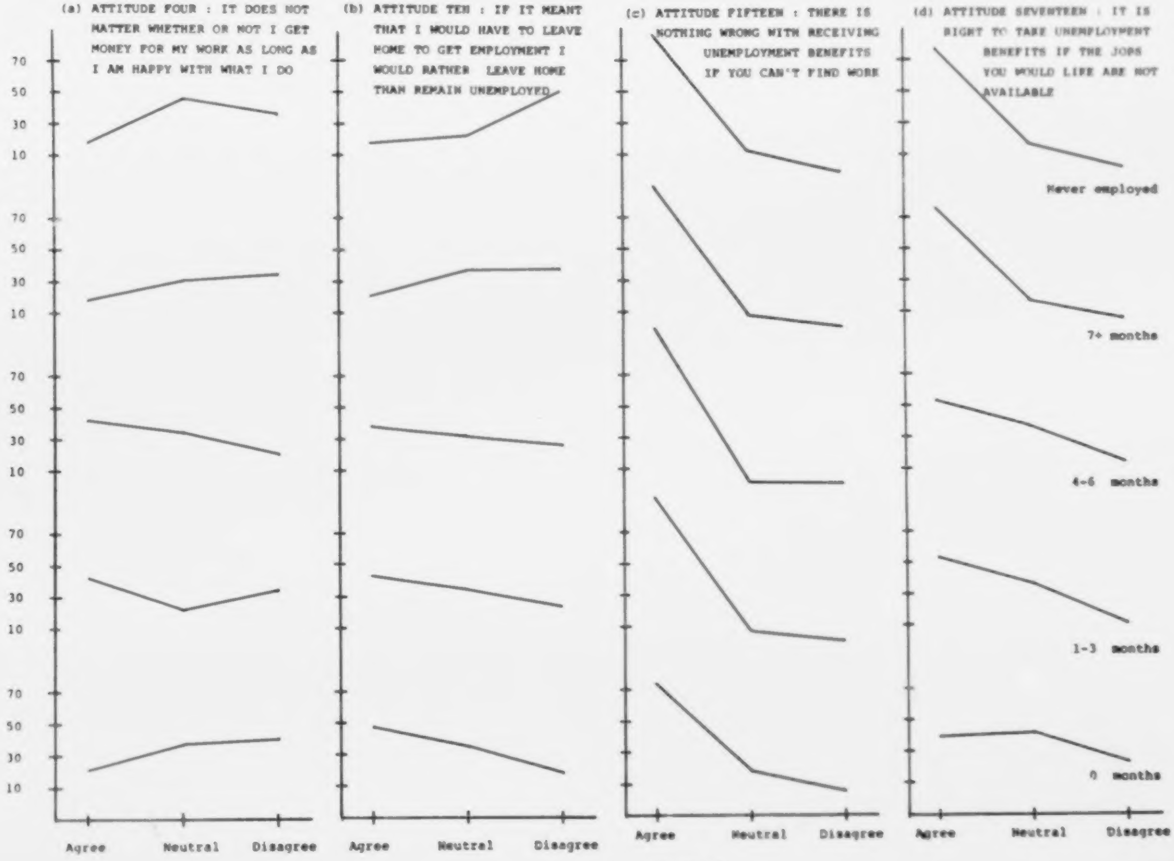


Figure 10.7: Percentages agreeing, neutral or disagreeing with selected attitude items, according to number of months of unemployment before the first job



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'changes' then may not be changes at all but simply a magnification of the effect of being Greek and/or female of any ethnic origin. For example, attitude 10 shows a big rise in the percentage disagreeing with this attitude item and both Greeks and Italian females are the most likely to disagree with this item. Again attitude item 17 shows the same pattern although in the opposite direction: there is a steady increase in the percentage agreeing and Greeks and females of all ethnic origins are most likely to agree with this attitude item.

The only way to resolve the dilemma is to analyse the attitude items by ethnic origin, sex and time unemployed, but the figures would be much too small to be meaningful. It warrants investigation though as it is of great importance to know what is causing the changes in the attitudes towards employment.

The most probable explanation is a combination of the influence of time unemployed and ethnic origin and sex. The more complex explanation based on personality types as defined by Eysenck may have validity but would require further investigation. Nevertheless, all results to date suggest that the alternative one of influence by ethnic origin and sex is sufficient to explain the changes noted.

A similar type of explanation can be offered for the effects of time unemployed before the first job.

10.12 Time unemployed and its effect on Behavioural Intentions

The total time unemployed affects two behavioural intention items.

BI 18: After seven months or more of being unemployed the likelihood of looking in a newspaper for job vacancies decreases. This may be due to the fact that looking through this source has not lead to success or it may indicate a more general apathy. The results support the first explanation.

BI 22: There is naturally enough a steady increase in the likelihood in applying for the dole the longer the time unemployed.

The time unemployed before the first job affects only one behavioural intention item, that of applying for the dole, with an increase in the likelihood of applying over time.

These results offer evidence that those unemployed over long periods of time persist in their efforts to obtain employment. Although their attitudes towards being unemployed may be changing they maintain a steady job-seeking behaviour. This lends strong support to the already noted trend: *that to be* employed *is the pursued goal of most young Australians of whatever ethnic origin or sex.*

It is also worth noting that attitude item 14 did not single out a particular group. This is the item which attempted to identify those who would be happy to be unemployed if society was more accepting. This suggests that these people are fairly evenly spread throughout the society and are not identified by ethnic origin or sex.

10.13 Results of the Predictor Variable

In the methodology Chapter 9 it was shown that there was a question included which asked the respondent whether they actually did the activity listed in each behavioural intention item. The correlation between what they did and their stated intention was significant at $p<.000$ level.

While the actual correlation efficient is low, 0.20, this represents a considerable correlation given the number of cases involved and is further support for the assertion made by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), that is behavioural intentions are a better indicator of behaviour than are attitudes towards more general concepts, such as work. The correlation of the predictor variable with the overall attitude towards work, employment, unemployment and unemployment benefits was .1391 ($p<.006$) This still represents a good correlation and as such reflects the superiority of the Fishbein and Ajzen method of assessing attitudes.

Other findings were that the more you do most of the activities associated with job seeking, the more likely you were to get a job. Exceptions to this are being female, especially Italian female where the results are more variable.

The overall trends are as follows:

1. There is evidence to suggest that although job seeking persists over long periods of unemployment there is a gradual lessening of such behaviour which is not surprising if it is not yielding success.
2. The longer one is unemployed the more likely it is that the job will be obtained through family friends.
3. There is also a position correlation between the number of things done to get a job and the source of the job being through relative or family.
4. There is a strong relationship between the parents on their attitudes towards activities for job seeking—at least in the perception of their children.
5. Most of their friends and boy/girl friends echo the parent's feelings although to a lesser degree.
6. There is a much lower association betwen the wishes to comply with the expectation of one parent and the wishes to comply with the expectation of the other. It would seem that in many cases the mother or the father is seen as the one to comply with. Boyfriends and girlfriends also exert an influence but to a lesser degree and the friends are least likely to be influential in this area. This is a somewhat surprising finding. The parents are obviously still seen as the ones whose wishes are most important to the person in the area of employment. Maybe this is a reflection of the stronger influence of the family on those of Greek or Italian ethnic origin.

10.14 Differences in concepts according to ethnic origin, sex and employment status

The analysis to date has been an item analysis and although an *ad hoc* grouping of the results was used to discover trends basically each item stands on its own. However the attitude items were also grouped together in a number of different combinations to represent measurement of certain selected concepts. Where necessary items were reverse scored for consistency. The following is an outline of the results obtained and they basically lend support to the picture already outlined.

The first set of results looked at the definition of work—was it the same as being employed, or did it include a broader definition? To look at this the following attitude items were selected, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11 and 14. The scores on these items were added and the average score found. These averages were tested by means of a t test between means in ethnic origin, sex and employment status. None of the t tests were significant. No groups therefore pictured work and employment in a different way from any of the other groups. Item analysis revealed that essentially work = employment in the eyes of most of the respondents. The second concept looked at was the primary function of working—is it for money/security or some other function such as self-identity etc? The attitude items selected were 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16 and 17. Greeks and Italians were significantly more likely to see that the primary function of working was for money than were the Anglo-Australians ($p < .000$ and $p < .001$, respectively). As money is bringing security as well as status then this fits with the picture we have of Greeks and Italians. Those who were unemployed for more than four months also tended to put the function of money first ($p < .006$) but as those unemployed for long periods tend also to be Greeks, it is hard to determine whether the results are a function of ethnic origin or of time unemployed.

The next concept looked at was whether work was seen as a source of satisfaction or merely as a money maker. The items selected were 1, 4, 6 and 17. Greeks were more likely to see work as a source of satisfaction ($p < .05$) than Italians and ($p < .002$) Anglo-Australians. Those unemployed for four or more months ($p < .025$) and those currently unemployed ($p < .05$) also saw work this way. As before the proportion of Greeks is high in these two categories and the reason for these particular results is unclear. However the fact that as a group Greeks view work as an important source of satisfaction lends further support to the trends previously discussed.

Does society help to define self? To test the attitudes towards this items 5, 9, 12 and 14 were selected. Once again the Greeks were more likely to see society as helping to define self than Anglo-Australians ($p < .005$). Italians also differed from Anglo-Australians on this ($p < .006$). As Anglo-Australians claim to be proud of their independence and prefer to see themselves as individuals rather than part of a group this result is in line with the cultural stereotype. It also fits with the cultural background of Italians and Greeks who come from societies where being part of a group, be it community in the case of Italians or a nation on the part of the Greeks, is important.

Does work help to define a sense of self? To test this items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 16 were selected. Only males as a group emerged as seeing work as helping to define self. This is in line with the postulated difference in the role of work between males and females. To work is for the male probably the biggest pressure he must conform to and if it carries with it added functions such as being a source of satisfaction or a place where self is partially defined, then his attitudes towards working must be different from those of the female. The female while being encouraged to work, or in some cases not, is also seen as a potential marriage partner and for her this is probably where she finds some of her self-identity.

Is being on unemployment benefits acceptable? Items 14, 15, 16 and 17 were selected to test this concept. Greeks were more likely to see unemployment benefits as acceptable than Anglo-Australians. They are also more likely to be unemployed. Both those previously unemployed for four or more months and those currently unemployed see unemployment benefits as being acceptable.

Is being employed *per se* a goal? To test this concept items 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 17 were selected. There were no significant differences between any of the groups and the range of answers were mostly in the unsure category. Perhaps the Anglo-Australians would have been expected to differ on this one as evidence previously shown indicated it was important.

The concept of the work ethic was also looked at. For this, items 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 17 were selected. But all groups tended to see work in the same way and they all tended to support the work ethic.

10.15 Relating results to the concept of work as outlined in Chapter 9

In Chapter 9 the definition of work proposed by S. Shimmin (1966:197) was adopted for the purposes of this study. To state it again:

> Work. . . may be regarded as employment within the social economic system which is perceived by the individual as his main occupation, by the title of which he is known and from which he devises his role in society.

There is no doubt that the results support this definition in principle but what is obvious is that the various parts of the definition are given different weights according to ethnic origin, sex and probably employment status.

The Greek view of work

It would appear from the results that there are three functions of employment:

(1) the economic function which probably equals security;

(2) the identity function which is the title by which he is known and which is extremely important; and

(3) the role it plays in society which is its acceptability and status function.

Added to the three functions is the pressure to actually be employed.

It appears that each of the three functions is to some degree weighted differently by the individual but all three functions contribute in a major way. The Greek reacts to this by electing to stay at school longer and then being seemingly more choosy about what jobs he will apply for. The fact that he apparently uses less job-seeking strategies than his Italian counterparts does not mean he is less interested in the job, rather it appears that the pressures to attain the job which fulfills his particular needs are enormous and therefore he is almost forced to wait until such a job comes along. He also tends to change jobs more than other groups, probably in an effort to secure a job which is closer to his goal.

The Italian view of work

The Italian also sees work as fulfilling the three functions—economic, self-identity and role in society or status. However, it appears that the status—role in society function is the one which is given the most weight. The economic function is a close second, with the identity one weighted according to individual needs. The pressure to be employed is also great. The Italian reacts to this by engaging in every possible form of job seeking in order to find the job which will fulfil his needs. Because the three functions are not as tightly bound together as for the Greek he can probably afford to take a wider range of jobs and still see the job as acceptable in his definition of acceptability. He is less likely to change jobs than the Greek.

The Anglo-Australian view of work

As for the other two groups the three functions of work are true for the Anglo-Australian. They probably fluctuate quite widely in the weights given to each according to individual needs. The status-role in society function is probably the least important function but it appears that for the Anglo-Australian the overriding pressure is to have a job, no matter what kind or how poorly paid. This does not mean that these things are not important, merely that they rank lower in importance than having the job. Because status is relatively low in the list of importance the range of jobs seen as acceptable to Anglo-Australians is extremely wide. He reacts to this by taking whatever job comes to hand first and changes about as frequently as does the Italian.

The male view of work

The male view of work stresses the economic-security functions of work above the others. Ethnic origin adds additional pressures and changes the weights according to what it is (e.g. Greek). The male has strong pressure on him to work and reacts to this by being fairly rigid in his approach to being unemployed and in unemployment benefits. He changes his job quite frequently probably in an attempt to remain employed and also to better the position he holds.

The female view of work

The female view of work is different from that of any of the other groups. To her, work is mostly defined in economic and social terms. The status or self-identity functions are not important and the pressure to get a job is much less than for the male. She reacts to this by maintaining an individual and flexible approach to work. To some extent ethnic origin influences her attitude but unlike her male counterpart she has the freedom to be flexible and does not always conform to the cultural stereotype. She would also be more likely to be happy to remain unemployed. The Anglo-Australian female most closely resembles her male counterpart but this is not unexpected as pressures from changing views on women's role in society are exerted on her to a greater extent than the Greek or Italian female.

The unemployed's view of work

The self-identity and economic functions are top of the list for the unemployed. Society exerts strong pressure to be employed and the job is much more important than its status function. He reacts to this by seeing the pressures exerted on him to find a job as unrealistic. He begins to see unemployment benefits as essential and his right, especially as no jobs appear available. He may also begin to value employment less for its own sake the longer he remains unemployed or he may swing to the other extreme.

To sum up, these thumb nail sketches are simplistic but the ideas offered do help explain the differences noted on the attitude scales. To view work as anything other than an extremely complex concept is misleading. There is no doubt it has at least the three functions Shimmin proposed and there may be others. The overriding pressure in all cases with the possible exception of the female is to be employed—working.

Therefore being unemployed, especially for long periods of time must have an effect on how the person views himself-herself and it is this area that would seem to be the one most pressing for investigation.

The one enigma in the results is the Italian female's relatively high unemployment rate. She is the one who does more to get a job than any other group. Her one limiting factor is her reluctance to leave home. Why she engages in such a lot of job seeking with relatively little success compared to other groups is not clear. She does tend to leave school earlier and therefore may not be qualified for the type of job she would like. This may lend to avoidance of what is available and within her qualifications and a continuing search for one which is acceptable and also within her qualifications.

10.16 A concluding statement

It was the brief of these last two chapters to construct an attitude scale which discriminated between groups on the basis of ethnic origin, sex and employment status. The purpose was to try and isolate why some groups are more successful at getting jobs than others. There are certainly enough indicators found in the results to suggest reasons for the differential success but as pointed out before the numbers are not large enough to ensure complete confidence in the results. The interpretations must also be regarded as indicators and ideas and not statements of fact. However, they do fit cultural stereotypes and to that extent appear valid.

What is obvious is that desire to work is not in itself enough to ensure success not only because there are not enough jobs anyway but also because of the different pressures put on individuals from society in general and from their own ethnic group in the form of restraints on both type of jobs seen as acceptable and job-seeking activities to obtain these jobs.

CHAPTER 11

Comparisons and conclusions

11.1 Introduction

Since the current study is related to and to some extent a continuation of, the themes explored in the earlier study of the Turkish and Lebanese youth, it is of interest to compare some of the findings from the two surveys. Such a comparison can be done rather more fully for males than for females because the 1979 Survey was directed towards the experience of males and while there were approximately 100 each of Turkish males and Lebanese males interviewed in that Survey, only around thirty each of Turkish and Lebanese females were interviewed at that time. However, as part of the first stage of the current youth employment project funded by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs additional funds were made available to interview approximately another seventy Turkish females and accordingly their experience can be compared with that of the Greek and Italian females.

The comparison between the various ethnic groups is of course somewhat limited by the different sampling procedures for the different surveys. In the Turkish and Lebanese study the respondents were identified through the 'web' technique, in which all known contacts of an initial group were followed up and subsequently the contacts of these were followed up etc. In contrast, since the Greek and Italian study related to a larger ethnic group in the population it was possible to derive the sample more rigorously from lists of school leavers. Nevertheless some broad comparisons are of value. Certainly the main criteria of selection of the samples was the same, that is, youth who were aged 15-20 years who had left school (but had not proceeded to tertiary education) and who were either employed or unemployed.

11.2 Basic differences between the samples of Southern European and Middle Eastern school leavers

The major difference between the Turkish and Lebanese sample and the Greek and Italian sample was that all the Turks and almost all (88 per cent) of the Lebanese were born overseas and, in addition, the majority had arrived in Australia in the late primary school or teenage years in the recent past. Seveny-three per cent of both the Turkish and the Lebanese youth had come to Australia when aged 10 years or more and 56 per cent of the Lebanese and 20 per cent of the Turkish youth had arrived during the five years prior to the survey. In contrast the majority of the Greeks and Italians were of the second generation (i.e. born in Australia to parents who were born in Greece or Italy) while the few who had been born overseas had come to Australia at a very young age.

Linked with this important difference is the fact that many of the Turks and Lebanese had had little or no schooling in Australia and knew little or no English, while the sample of Greek and Italian teenagers had all spent at least several years at school in Australia and had a good knowledge of the English language. Thus in the sample it was found that 30 per cent of Lebanese males and 15 per cent of Turkish males had had no schooling in Australia and only 35 per cent of the Lebanese males and 42 per cent of the Turkish males had had five years or more. In contrast only 2 per cent of Greek males and none of the Italian males had received less than five years of schooling in Australia. A similar pattern occurs among females: 26 per cent of Turkish females had no schooling in Australia compared with none of the Greek and Italian females, while only 45 per cent of the Turkish females had spent five or more years at school in Australia compared with 96 per cent of the Greek and Italian females. See Table 11.1.

Table 11.1: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek and Italian males and females according to number of years of schooling in Australia (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Years of schooling in Australia	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*
		Per cent		
Males				
None	15	30	-	-
1,2	19	21	2	-
3,4	24	13	-	-
5-7	33	12	19	-
8-10	9	8	26	19
11 or more	-	16	53	81
Sum	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53
		Per cent		
Females (a)				
None	27		-	-
1,2	12		-	1
3,4	14		2	-
5-7	22		2	3
8-10	19		14	8
11 or more	6		82	88
Sum	100		100	100
n	96		58	74

(a) Note that in this Table and all subsequent Tables the information relating to the Turkish females refers to surveys conducted in 1979 and 1980.

The other important difference between the ethnic groups and linked to the duration of schooling in Australia, is the ability to speak English. As Table 11.2 shows, 57 per cent of Turkish males and 66 per cent of Lebanese males speak English well or very well compared with 72 per cent of Greek males and 88 per cent of Italian males. Among females, 56 per cent of Turkish females speak English well or very well compared with 100 per cent of Greek females and 94 per cent of Italian females. Language ability is also related to language spoken at home and, as Table 11.3 shows, a higher proportion of Turks and Lebanese in comparison with Greeks and Italians speak only their ethnic language at home and smaller proportions speak mostly English or a mixture of the native language and English. These basic differences, schooling in Australia and ability to speak English, are the key to many of the differences between Turkish and Lebanese teenagers on one hand and Greek and Italian teenagers on the other.

11.3 Differences in schooling

In the interviews with the Turkish and Lebanese youth many spoke of the frustration that they had felt when first entering an Australian school, through not being able to understand the English language and through having to adjust to different methods of teaching and to different classmates and surroundings. These factors played a part in their leaving school prematurely. In addition, many spoke of their family's financial difficulties during the early years after arriving in Australia and the pressure on them to leave school and to take a job so as to contribute to the family income. An additional factor in the Lebanese sample was that many of the recent arrivals had lived near the zones of fighting in Lebanon and had experienced years of unsettled schooling before coming to Australia.

Yet another factor was present in relation to the Turkish and Lebanese females who were included

Table 11.2: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek and Italian males and females according to ability to speak English (1979 and 1980-81 surveys)**

Ability to speak English	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980-81*	*Italians 1980-81*
		Per cent		
Males				
Very well	57	66	29	52
Well			43	36
OK-basic knowledge	34	25	28	10
Poorly	9	9	-	2
Not at all			-	-
Sum	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53
		Per cent		
Females				
Very well	5		66	62
Well	51		34	32
OK	30		-	6
Poorly	12		-	-
Not at all	2	-	-	
Sum	100		100	100
n	96		58	74

Table 11.3: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek and Italian males and females according to language spoken at home (1979 and 1980-81 surveys)**

Language spoken at home	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980-81*	*Italians 1980-81*
Males		Per cent		
All ethnic language	52	57	25	18
Some ethnic/some English	18	20	*(a)*	*(a)*
Ethnic language to older relatives/English to siblings	26	16	69	47
Mostly or all English	4	7	6	35
Sum	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53
Females		Per cent		
All ethnic language	36		9	8
Some ethnic/some English	9		*(a)*	*(a)*
Ethnic language to older relatives/English to siblings	54		74	68
Mostly or all English	1	17	24	
Sum	100		100	100
n	96		58	74

(a) Included with ethnic language to older relatives/English to siblings in the Greek and Italian study.

Table 11.4: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males and females according to age at leaving school (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Age (years)	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
			Per cent		
Males					
14 or under	18	8	-	6	-
15	25	15	11	2	11
16	18	37	34	36	53
17	24	27	34	49	25
18 or more	15	13	19	6	11
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53	53
			Per cent		
Females					
9–12	17		-	-	-
13–14	27		-	-	6
15	18		10	10	12
16	13		21	28	31
17	12		42	47	36
18 or more	13		27	15	15
Sum	100		100	100	100
n	96		58	74	52
Proportion who completed the school year					
Males	56	73	74	76	74
Females	74	-	84	78	64

in the survey; parents of Turkish girls, particularly, were apprehensive about their daughters mixing with Australian girls and boys and some preferred the protected environment of the home or a factory for their daughters. The Lebanese girls had some advantage in that those with the Christian faith were able to attend the Catholic schools in Australia, which were segregated and were perceived as offering more protection. All these factors contributed to a relatively high proportion of young ages at leaving school among the Turks particularly and to a lesser extent among the Lebanese, in comparison with the Greek and Italian sample. An indication of differences in age at leaving school among the ethnic groups is provided in Table 11.4 and is also confirmed by the 1976 Census data presented in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 in Chapter 3. For example, in the sample 17 per cent of the Turkish females had left school before the age of 13 years and another 27 per cent had left at ages 13 and 14 years, making a total of 44 per cent who had left before age 15 years. Among Turkish males the proportion who had left school before age 15 years was 18 per cent, among the Lebanese males the figure was 9 per cent, while none of the Greek females, Italian females nor the Greek males had left school before that age and only 6 per cent of the Italian males had done so.

Some of the difficulty experienced in adjusting to a new schooling environment among the Turkish males is also evident in the high proportion who left school part-way through the school year—44 per cent compared with 27 of Lebanese males, 26 per cent of Greek males, 24 per cent of Italian males and 26 per cent of Anglo-Australian males. In addition, among the Turkish males, leaving part-way through the year was inversely proportional to their number of years of schooling in Australia, in that those who had spent a longer time at an Australian school were less likely to leave

Table 11.5: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males and females according to reason for leaving school (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Reason for leaving school	*Turks*		*Leb.*	*Greeks*		*Italians*		*Anglo-Aust.*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
				Per cent					
Had got his/her certificate, had learnt enough	4	13	38	2	3	4	3	-	4
Wanted to do vocational training	3	3	-	17	14	23	8	6	-
Wasn't clever enough	7	5	1	13	22	15	20	6	17
Didn't understand English, teachers, other students	12	12	6	2	-	-	-	-	-
Parents couldn't afford school	8	8	2	-	3	-	1	2	4
Wanted to earn his/her own money	14	5	11	8	7	8	4	2	15
Wanted to be independent	3	-	-	2	5	-	5	2	12
Wanted to do something useful, get a job	14	4	11	15	12	6	15	9	10
Tired of school & studying, wanted a change, bored	12	1	4	17	10	21	23	26	10
Not happy at school	6	17	6	11	7	4	5	4	8
Family problems, parents' sickness, death, divorce	3	7	4	-	-	2	4	-	2
War, political trouble	1	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
It would be harder to get a job later, had a job	3	1	1	4	5	11	-	4	32
School was a waste of time, not learning anything	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	12
Travel, migration	-	8	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Parents disapproved of Aust. schools	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n	98	96	93	53	58	53	74	53	52
Proportion completing the school year	56	74	73	74	84	76	78	74	64

during the school year. No such similar relationship was found among the other ethnic groups. Apart from the Anglo-Australians, leaving part-way through the year was less common among females than among males. Only 26 per cent of Turkish females left part-way through the school year and there were 16 per cent of Greek females, 22 per cent of Italian females and 36 per cent of Anglo-Australian females who had done so.

Differences between the ethnic groups also emerge with regard to the stated reasons for leaving school. Although the wording of the question was changed slightly between the 1979 and 1980–81 Surveys, so that higher proportions of the earlier group were likely to say 'had got their certificate', differences between the distribution of responses provide further evidence of the different circumstances and experiences of the various ethnic groups. Compared with Turkish and Lebanese males, Greek and Italian males were far more likely to state that they were leaving because they were going to do vocational training, more likely to mention that they were tired of school and wanted a change, more likely to state that they had a job to go to and more likely to admit that they were not clever enough to continue with further study. On the other hand Turkish and Lebanese males were more likely to state the reasons for leaving school of not being able to understand English or to understand the teachers and the other students, more likely to state the two financial reasons (wanted to earn their own money and parents could not afford school) and also more likely to state family problems, which included a parent's sickness or death or loss of job. The Lebanese were also unique in that a relatively high proportion left school during difficult conditions in their country before coming to Australia and had never resumed school here.

Among females the major differences were that Turkish females were relatively less likely to be going on to a job which provided vocational training, more likely to be leaving because their parents could not afford school, because of family problems, because they could not understand English or because they were very unhappy at school and less likely to be leaving in order to become independent, or because they were bored and tired of school. There were also more likely to have left school at the time of migrating from Turkey to Australia, never resuming their schooling in Australia even though they were still aged under 14 years. Another small group had specifically stated that they had left because their parents disapproved of secondary schools in Australia or secondary schooling for girls. Neither of these last two resons were evident among Greek or Italian females or among Turkish males.

11.4 Differences in advice about staying at school and jobs available

During the critical transition period from school to work a child is likely to be influenced by the encouragement which he or she receives from his or her parents to stay at school or not and the sorts of advice which he or she receives from teachers, parents and other persons regarding the type of jobs which are available and suitable.

As Tables 11.6 and 11.7 show, these sorts of encouragement and advice also varied between the ethnic groups studied. From Table 11.6 some of the main differences regarding parental advice are that Turkish and Lebanese parents were more likely to give strong encouragement to their sons to stay at school in comparison with Greek and Italian parents (and even more so in comparison with Anglo-Australian parents) and less likely to let the son make his own decision about what to do. However, it was mainly Turkish and Italian (and Anglo-Australian) fathers who encouraged their sons to leave school and take a job, whereas few Lebanese and Greek fathers did this. Overall the Anglo-Australians represented the lowest proportion with parents encouraging them to stay at school and the highest proportion with parents leaving them to make their own decision or telling them to leave school and start work. In all cases it was more often the mother than the father who wanted the son to stay at school longer.

The situation regarding females is slightly different. Among these, Greek parents gave the most encouragement to the daughter to stay at school and high proportions of both Turkish mothers and fathers encouraged their daughters to leave school and go to work. In comparison with Greek parents and particularly with Italian and Anglo-Australian parents, very few Turkish parents left the decision about school and work to the daughter. Anglo-Australian fathers were unique in that a high proportion apparently did not care about their daughters' choice. Within each ethnic group, with the exception of Anglo-Australian parents and Greek fathers, parents were far more likely to encourage a son to stay at school than a daughter, that is, these differences were especially evident among the Turks and Italians.

With regard to advice about possible jobs after leaving school, the Greek and Italian (and Anglo-Australian) males generally fared better with regard to both advice from teachers and advice from parents, while the Turkish males were particularly disadvantaged in both respects, as Table 11.7 shows. Almost three-quarters of the Turkish males claimed that they had received no advice about jobs from teachers at school compared with 34 per cent of Lebanese males, 30 per cent of Greek males, 19 per cent of Italian males and 26 per cent of Anglo-Australian males. In addition, only one-tenth of Turkish males stated that they had received a lot of such advice from teachers compared with

Table 11.6: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian, and Anglo-Australian males and females according to parental encouragement to stay at school (1979 and 1980-81 surveys)**

Parent's attitude	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
			Per cent		
MALES					
Mother					
Encouragement to stay at school	81	87	77	64	47
Said it was his decision	6	2	19	21	38
Leave school, take a job	7	7	2	9	11
Didn't care, didn't know etc.	6	4	2	6	4
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
Father					
Encouragement to stay at school	70	87	64	59	34
Said it was his decision	8	2	23	21	32
Leave school, take a job	15	7	4	13	21
Didn't care, didn't know etc.	7	4	9	7	13
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
FEMALES					
Mother					
Encouragement to stay at school	58		62	32	48
Said it was her decision	8		29	43	40
Leave school, take a job	24		7	18	8
Didn't care, didn't know etc.	10		2	7	4
Sum	100		100	100	100
Father					
Encouragement to stay at school	51		62	36	36
Said it was her decision	9		24	46	33
Leave school, take a job	28		5	12	6
Didn't care, didn't know etc.	12		9	6	25
Sum	100		100	100	100

a peak of 49 per cent among Italian males and proportions in the region of 26 per cent for Greek and Anglo-Australian males.

Low proportions of both Turkish males and Lebanese males had received a lot of advice about possible jobs from parents compared with the other three ethnic groups, reflecting the much lower level of information possessed by the parents in these groups and demonstrating yet another influence of duration of residence and its associated factors (including knowledge of English) in the parents' ability to direct a son to a suitable career.

A similar pattern emerges with regard to females. Few Turkish females had received a lot of advice from teachers or from parents in comparison with Greek and Italian females.

11.5 Differences in sources of information

The different range and sources of information about other work-related aspects between the various ethnic groups is reflected in Table 11.8. In response to the question about where they had learnt most about how to behave in a job, relatively high proportions in each ethnic group had stated that they had learnt this by themselves through their own experience. Very few (9 per cent) Turkish males and relatively few Lebanese males (13 per cent) had gained this information through the school in comparison with the other groups (17 per cent of Greek males and 21 per cent of Italian males, or 25 and 34 per cent respectively, if 'school and other' is included). In contrast, high proportions of Turkish males (27 per cent) and Lebanese males (19 per cent) had gained this information from parents compared with only 4 per cent of Greek males and 9 per cent of Anglo-Australian males.

Table 11.7: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males and females according to the extent of advice from teachers and parents about possible jobs (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Extent of advice	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
				Per cent	
MALES					
Advice from teachers					
Yes, a lot	10	33	26	49	26
Yes, some *(a)*	16	33	44	32	48
None	74	34	30	19	26
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
Advice from parents					
Yes, a lot	21	26	38	49	41
Yes, some *(a)*	30	44	28	6	25
His decision	*(b)*	*(b)*	-	15	11
Stay at school	*(b)*	*(b)*	8	11	-
None	49	30	26	19	23
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
FEMALES					
Advice from teachers					
Yes a lot	19		40	30	33
Yes, some *(a)*	9		26	31	29
None	72		34	39	38
Sum	100		100	100	100
Advice from parents					
Yes, a lot	18		28	38	19
Yes, some *(a)*	27		16	21	28
Her decision	*(b)*		9	4	14
Stay at school	4 *(b)*		7	1	6
None	51		40	36	33
Sum	100		100	100	100

(a) For the Greeks, Italians and Anglo-Australians this includes both 'some' and 'a little', with the majority in 'some', while for the Turks and Lebanese this always referred to 'a little'.

(b) This category was not provided for in the questionnaire for the Turks and Lebanese.

Table 11.8: Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males in relation to sources of information about how to behave in a job and what to do when unemployed (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)

Source of information	*Turks* *1979*	*Lebanese* *1979*	*Greeks* *1980–81*	*Italians* *1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust.* *1980–81*
How to behave in a job			Per cent		
Self	45	51	43	34	55
Teachers, school	9	13	17	21	15
Employers	5	–	6	4	6
Co-workers	–	4	6	8	4
Parents, relatives	27	19	4	17	9
Friends	2	7	4	–	–
CES	2	2	4	–	–
School & other	*(a)*	*(a)*	8	13	4
CES & other	*(a)*	*(a)*	–	–	2
Other	–	2	–	3	3
Don't know about this	10	2	8	–	2
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
What to do when unemployed			Per cent		
Self	16	31	26	8	15
Teachers, school	3	9	11	17	21
Parents, relatives	25	19	8	9	11
Friends	21	11	13	8	2
CES	16	17	6	19	8
School & other	*(a)*	*(a)*	4	4	6
CES & other	*(a)*	*(a)*	10	4	5
Other	9	13	5	8	19
Don't know about this	10	–	17	23	13
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53	53

(a) Combinations not recorded in the Turkish and Lebanese Survey.

Italian males were somewhat of an exception in that they were less likely to have relied on themselves and they had the highest proportion gaining information from the school in addition to a high proportion being helped by parents.

In response to the question about the main source of information about what to do when unemployed, again the Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males were more likely to state the teachers at school and less likely to state parents and relatives in comparison with Turkish and Lebanese males. However, interestingly, all groups stated the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) to a similar extent.

As Table 11.9 shows, over one-third of the Turkish females would not know what to do if they were unemployed and those that did have some knowledge had relied very much on their parents and relatives. The Greek and Italian females by contrast had received relatively more advice from the school and the CES.

Table 11.9: **Comparison of Turkish, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian females according to sources of information about what to do when unemployed (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Source of information	*Turks 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
		Per cent		
Self	7	10	18	23
Teachers, school	9	16	12	15
Business College	*(a)*	10	5	-
Employers	-	-	1	-
Co-workers	-	-	-	-
Parents, relatives	23	9	5	14
Friends	10	3	8	4
CES	13	16	31	23
School & other	*(a)*	10	-	4
CES & other	*(a)*	12	5	10
Other	6	5	10	1
Don't know about this	34	9	5	6
Sum	100	100	100	100
n	96	58	74	52

(a) Combinations not recorded in the Turkish and Lebanese Survey.

11.6 Differences in source of the first job

These various differences regarding advice given and sources of information available are ultimately carried through to differences in the source of the first job between the ethnic groups, as shown in Table 11.10. Turkish males and to a lesser extent Lebanese males were more likely than Greek and Italian males to obtain the first job through parents and relatives or friends, although relatively high proportions of Italian males had also gained their first job from friends. In contrast, more of the Greek and Italian males had gained their first job through the CES and more had gained it through the school compared with Turkish and Lebanese males. As is noted in Table 11.10, the category 'applied directly' for many of the Turks and Lebanese includes knocking on doors of employers and asking for work, while for many of the Greeks and Italians this included making telephone inquiries to potential employers, often after a search through the yellow pages of the telephone directory.

Figures for females in the same table indicate that relatively higher proportions of females compared with males have never had a job. With regard to ethnic differences between females, a high proportion of Turkish females had gained their first job through parents and relatives (31 per cent) and friends (27 per cent) compared with Greek females (with corresponding percentages of 5 and 16 per cent) and Italian females (with corresponding percentages of 13 and 11 per cent). Very much fewer of the Turkish females had obtained a job through the CES, the school, through direct application or through responding to an advertisement in an Australian newspaper compared with the Greek and Italian females.

11.7 Differences in mobility in the workforce

Job mobility and the extent of movement in and out of the workforce between the various ethnic groups is summarised in Tables 11.11 and 11.12. Italian males and Anglo-Australian males are least likely to have ever experienced unemployment and Lebanese males were the most likely to have been continuously unemployed. Among those currently working, Turkish males and Greek males are

Table 11.10: **Comparison of Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males and females in relation to the source of the first job (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Source of the first job	*Turks* 1979	*Lebanese* 1979	*Greeks* 1980–81	*Italians* 1980–81	*Anglo-Aust.* 1980–81
			Per cent		
Males					
Never had a job	2	23	9	2	4
Ad. in Aust. newspaper	5	4	4	8	11
Applied directly *(a)*	22	11	13	8	13
Parents, relatives	32	26	21	24	26
Friends	26	22	17	28	17
CES	5	9	15	19	15
School	*(a)*	*(a)*	13	6	9
Other	8	5	8	5	5
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
n	98	93	53	53	53
			Per cent		
Females					
Never had a job	14		17	11	4
Ad. in Aust. newspaper	6		10	16	15
Applied directly	8		9	16	23
Parents, relatives	31		5	13	13
Friends	27		16	11	14
CES	10		29	23	17
School	1		9	10	8
Other	3		3	-	6
Sum	100		100	100	100
n	96		58	74	52

(a) Note that in the 1979 Survey of Turks and Lebanese 'applied directly' usually referred to knocking on doors and asking for a job, whereas in the 1980–81 Survey of the Greeks and Italians it often involved telephone inquiries (for example, after searching the yellow pages of the telephone book) or written inquiries.

most likely to have been previously unemployed (52 and 57 per cent respectively, compared with 36 per cent of Lebanese males, 36 per cent of Italian males and 19 per cent of Anglo-Australian males), indicating their relatively greater difficulty in attaining the status of employed. Among the currently unemployed, Turkish and Italian males contain the highest proportion who had previously worked (92 and 89 per cent, respectively, compared with 43, 55 and 67 per cent among Lebanese, Greek and Anglo-Australian males, respectively).

Reasons for leaving the first job differ somewhat between the ethnic groups. Dangerous, dirty work was mentioned most often by Turkish males and to a lesser extent by Lebanese males, reflecting the factory work that many are doing. Turkish and Lebanese males were also twice as likely to leave the first job because they were sacked, retrenched, a closedown or because it was only a temporary job at the start. In contrast, Greek and Italian males (and to a lesser extent Anglo-Australian males) were relatively more likely to give positive reasons for leaving, such as to go to a better job or to one that provided training and they were also relatively more likely to leave because of the people they worked for or with.

Table 11.11: Comparison of past and present employment status and the main reason for leaving the first job among Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)

Characteristic	*Turks 1979*	*Lebanese 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
Past and present status			Per cent		
1. Never unemployed	36	39	34	53	72
2. Never had a job	2	23	10	2	4
3. Now unemployed but has worked	23	17	11	15	7
4. Now working but was unemployed	39	21	45	30	17
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
Ratio 4/(1+4)	52	36	57	36	19
Ratio 3/(2+3)	92	43	55	89	67
n	98	93	53	53	53
Reason for leaving the first job (a)			Per cent		
Work, pay, distance to travel, hours	19	10	18	19	31
Conditions, dangerous & dirty work, effect on health	11	6	4	-	4
No prospects, to go to a better job, to study	20	31	32	42	26
People he worked for or with	6	9	14	16	13
Sacked, retrenched, closedown, or only a temporary job at the start	44	41	18	23	26
Other	-	3	14	-	-
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
n	64	32	28	26	23

(*a*) Among those who had left the first job and who gave a reason for leaving. The reason tabulated here is the main reason for leaving, and so excludes any additional reasons stated.

Table 11.12: **Comparison of past and present employment status and the main reason for leaving the first job among Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian males (1979 and 1980–81 surveys)**

Characteristic	*Turks 1979*	*Greeks 1980–81*	*Italians 1980–81*	*Anglo-Aust. 1980–81*
Past and present status		Per cent		
1. Never unemployed	34	22	27	40
2. Never had a job	14	16	11	4
3. Now unemployed but has worked	22	9	13	14
4. Now working but was unemployed	30	53	49	42
Sum	100	100	100	100
Ratio 4/(1+4)	47	70	64	51
Ratio 3/(2+3)	62	36	56	78
n	96	58	74	52
Reason for leaving the first job (a)		Per cent		
Work, pay, distance to travel, hours	10	20	10	32
Conditions, dangerous & dirty work, effect on health	12	-	2	-
No prospects, to go to a better job, to study	23	15	20	21
People she worked for or with	10	9	18	4
Sacked, retrenched, closedown, or only a temporary job at the start	37	41	30	32
Other	8	14	20	11
Sum	100	100	100	100
n	51	34	40	28

(a) Among those who had left the first job and who gave a reason for leaving. The reason tabulated here is the main reason for leaving, and so excludes any additional reasons stated.

In comparison with females in the other ethnic groups, Turkish females are generally more likely to be in the categories 'never employed' and 'now unemployed but has worked' and relatively less likely to be in the category, 'now working but was unemployed'. The first difference is related to the existence of a group of Turkish girls who have been kept in the protected environment of the home instead of working (or going to school). The second is partly explained by the relatively higher proportion of married women (some with young infants) in the Turkish sample, while the third seems to suggest that once Turkish girls are employed they remain in that job. It should also be noted that high proportions of Turkish and Greek females leave the first job because they are sacked, retrenched, or because it was only a temporary job. There is also some indication that Turkish girls are at the lower end of the labour market in that a relatively high proportion of these leave the first job because of the poor working conditions.

Differences in the occupational distribution of the Turkish, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian teenagers are best described by the most recent census data (see Table 3.18 in Chapter 3). The main observation is the disadvantaged position of Turkish males and females with regard to their high proportions in factory and labouring jobs, followed by the Lebanese and then by the Greeks and Italians and lastly by the Anglo-Australians. These patterns are also confirmed by the data from the youth employment surveys.

11.8 Differences in job aspirations

Job aspirations also show some variations between the various ethnic groups. A high proportion of the Turks expressed a desire for clerical work ('a clean comfortable job') as a reaction against the heavy, dirty jobs that many were engaged in. The Turks also expressed a wish to own their own small business, or to work as a motor mechanic, other metal worker or technician. Many also wished to be drivers, mainly taxi drivers and several would have liked to do a course and so move into the lower professional occupations.

To some extent reflecting their limited knowledge of the labour market in Australia, a very high proportion of the Lebanese youth expressed the wish to become motor mechanics. Others showed an interest in other trades, while, like the Turks, many also wanted to own a small business and so be free from the demands of an employer. Smaller numbers wished for clerical work or work in the lower professions.

Both the Greek and Italian youth expressed an interest in the trades, such as motor mechanics, plumbing, electrical work and carpentry and there was also some interest in being an employer in a small business. There was a small group who were interested in working in the entertainment field and in photography, while some of the professional occupations were also mentioned.

The trades, with motor mechanics, electricians, metal workers and carpenters were among the ambitions stated by the control group of Anglo-Australians. Areas where they differed from the other ethnic groups were in the wish to do outdoor work (including gardening and horticulture) and to be truck drivers.

Aspirations of the Turkish females included work involving craft skills, such as sewing, dressmaking and carpet weaving and clerical work, typing, interpreting and as teachers.

The Lebanese girls appear to have an interest and aptitude for mathematics, accountancy and law and also expressed an interest in typing, clerical work, teaching, laboratory work or work in which they would be able to help their own people.

Some of the main areas of job aspirations among the Greek and Italian females were in clerical and secretarial work, or to work as hairdressers or beauticians, or in the artistic occupations including fashion design, fine art, or as mannequins. There was also some interest in social work, computer operation, teaching, nursing and work as travel consultants, air hostesses, saleswomen and policewomen.

11.9 Summary of comparison of Greeks and Italians with Turks and Lebanese

As the foregoing commentary has shown there are major differences between the situation of recently arrived migrant groups of non-English speaking origin with a comparatively small ethnic population in Australia, namely the Turkish and Lebanese and the children of well-established migrant parents belonging to a relatively large ethnic group in Australia, namely the Greek and Italian school leavers.

As the selected examples have indicated, these differences exist with regard to the length of schooling in Australia, ability to speak English, reasons for leaving school and sources of advice about possible jobs and about how to cope at work and when unemployed. The type of employment obtained, the extent of unemployment, mobility in the workforce and the reasons for leaving jobs also show variation between the different groups.

Naturally, because of these contrasts, the conclusions and recommendations from the study of the Greek and Italian school leavers also differ from the conclusions and recommendations from the study of the Turkish and Lebanese youth.

The summary findings from the Turkish and Lebanese study emphasised the wide cultural differences between these two migrant groups and the Australian setting and discussed the problems involved in the transition from Turkey and Lebanon to Australia, including the loss of supportive kin, the transition from a rural to a city environment and the different beliefs and customs surrounding the role of women in those countries.

One of the main recommendations from the Turkish and Lebanese study was the importance for these young people of gaining a working knowledge of the English language, since language problems magnified other problems, such as coping in the Australian school system and access to information about training opportunities, jobs and sources of help. The study also emphasised the importance of staying on at school, although recognising the strong opposing forces, such as the financial need for the child to work, concern over a daughter at a mixed school and confusion and distrust of the Australian educational system. Recommendations relating to these aspects were the encouragement, particularly for girls, to stay at school and provision to return to some form of schooling at a later date among those who had been forced to leave school for some of the reasons mentioned. Since many of these youths had had limited schooling before entering the labour force, there were strong reasons for a greater access to English language training in the workplace.

Since through their low educational qualifications and inability to speak English many of the Turkish and Lebanese youth can only find work in factories, in the first stage their situation can only be improved by enforcing minimum standards of conditions on what are often very poor working environments. Other recommendations regarding the Turkish and Lebanese youth included assistance which would enable them to proceed to training in areas where they could help their own ethnic group, such as teaching, paramedical and social work and interpreting and also the provision of CYSS-type activities to reduce the isolation of the Turkish and Lebanese teenagers who are unemployed.

In contrast, the conclusions and recommendations arising from the study of the Greek and Italian school leavers, as the following paragraphs indicate, are very different.

Among the second generation Greeks and Italians the initial, severe problems, such as learning the English language, cultural differences, adjusting to an Australian school, parents' lack of knowledge of Australian conditions and possibilities, as experienced by newly arrived non-English-speaking migrant groups, have largely disappeared or at least have greatly diminished. The majority of these school leavers speak English well, have spent all or most of their life in Australia, have had sufficient schooling in Australia to have reached secondary level and to have gained a basic understanding of Australian society, have been able to benefit from advice from teachers and other bodies such as the CES and their parents are relatively conversant with Australian conditions and job opportunities. The Greek and Italian males, particularly, are also able to benefit from the network of assistance in finding jobs from relatives and friends and, in fact, among the Italian males in particular a high proportion of employers are relatives or of the same ethnic group.

There has been a remarkable generational change in occupational distribution from the first generation parents to the second generation Greek and Italian teenagers among both males and females. In addition many have a strong positive attitude to their school experience in Australia and are aware of the benefits of school both in the workforce and in the wider sense. Compared with the Turks and Lebanese, many are happy in their current job or are confident that they will soon attain the job of their choice and among the Greek and Italian teenagers there is far less evidence of the anger, frustration and confusion so often apparent in the interviews with the Turkish and Lebanese youth.

Problems in the transition from school to work among the Greeks and Italians seem more closely aligned with the problems experienced by the Anglo-Australian youth than with those of recently arrived migrant youth and, accordingly, are more of a function of the state of the workforce rather than any major disadvantages among the Greeks and Italians themselves. The major problem, stated broadly, is that jobs appropriate to a given level of schooling are not always available. Consequently, it seems unlikely that the employment experience of the Greek and Italian teenage workforce will improve unless the general level of employment of the entire workforce improves, since, as also stated in the Turkish and Lebanese Report, even Anglo-Australian youth experience high unemployment and under-utilisation of potential skills.

However, at the same time there are some differences between the experience of Greek and Italian school leavers and Anglo-Australians and these are described in the paragraphs which follow.

11.10 Greeks and Italians compared with Anglo-Australians

The schooling situation

A comparison between the samples drawn from the two geographical areas, namely the eastern and northern suburbs, reveals some differences in relation to schooling which should be noted. On the whole, among the Greeks and Italians there is a better performance achieved in the northern area although this is not true of the Anglo-Australian sample. This may be because the schools in that area were more conscious of the situation of immigrants and devoted a larger proportion of available resources to their needs than was true of the eastern area. The differences, particularly with regard to the Greek males, may also reflect a different situation in the two areas in relation to the migration–integration process. The possibility here is that the more recently arrived are more highly motivated towards higher education and higher achievement levels and that this is eroded by time. The fact that the Italian males do not differ significantly between the two areas may well be an outcome of the apparent lack of difference between the two areas in terms of their migration-integration process. It should also be noted that negative attitudes towards schooling among the Italians and Anglo-Australians are more pronounced in the eastern suburbs, perhaps reflecting higher expectations of the school system or more disillusionment.

From the above findings it could be concluded that it is important for schools in any area to reflect the socio-economic conditions prevailing in that region, including the situation of former immigrants in terms of their integration process and associated factors.

The differences between the Greek and Italian samples are not great but they do exist. In terms of overall performance at school the Greeks do not do as well as the Italians and it is possible that this reflects their shorter period of residence in Australia and the level of integration of their parents. The two ethnic groups do differ demographically in terms of, for example, their geographical distribution and degree of ethnic institutional development. The Greeks are, on the basis of several criteria, likely to be less well integrated and therefore to feel less accepted. This could account for the feelings of being discriminated against by the schools recorded in this study, which the Italians apparently do not feel.

Some of the differences between the ethnic groups are specific to one sex only and may well relate to differences in the socio-cultural situations of the various 'ethnic-sex' groups. For example, the Greek and Italian girls show a stronger desire for independence than do the males. This may well link to the indications, although relatively few, that the girls are more disciplined by their parents, for example, in terms of choice of school among the Italians and are socially more restricted in their activities than are the boys. It is very likely that attitudes regarding schooling reflect the cultural life of the home, although few seemed able to verbalise this.

The findings on attitudes towards school show that both the Greek respondents and their parents are far more likely to feel negatively towards teachers and school than do either the Italians or the Anglo-Australians. This suggests that not all of our schools are handling adequately the community relations side of their work and the realities of the multicultural society in which they function. On the other hand, almost as many Anglo-Australian males as Greeks felt that their teachers did not care. As the Greek males, Anglo-Australian males and Greek females are the three groups with the poorest performance, it may be that teacher–student relationships are a consequence of performance rather than of ethnicity, or that the two factors combine.

It is disturbing that a significant number in all groups reported that they had learnt little or nothing of benefit from school. This, together with the tendency of many males to grow tired of school, may lead us to want to question the appropriateness of the typical school curriculum for such young people.

The pressures exerted by the Greek parents on their young people to continue on at school should be noted. This finding is one which this study has in common with several others and it relates to both the cultural background of the Greeks and the most commonly prevailing motivation for migration. Moreover, the contrasts noted between the generations represent some indication of the success of their aims. For this group, however, it may be also a source of frustration if they are in fact the poorer achievers.

When the three ethnic groups are compared in relation to school performance, the Greeks and especially the Greek males, stand out as the poorest performers. However, this is also the only group with a significant proportion born overseas, with some language difficulties and possibly with other difficulties which affect school performance, associated with being comparatively recently arrived. The Greek situation contains vestiges of the situations found among the Lebanese and Turks, highlighting again the importance of the migration factor in addition to that of any cultural factors.

The desire of some two-thirds of the sample to do further studies should be noted. This may well suggest that considerable numbers would take advantage of easier access to part-time vocationally oriented courses if such were readily available. The Greek males appear to be the only group striving still for higher academic levels. Does this reflect continuing parental pressure, frustrated ambitions of these boys or what? Whatever it reflects, it is a tendency which might well be recognised and supported.

Attitudes to employment

Some clue to the inherent differences between the ethnic groups and between the sexes is provided by the analysis of the attitudinal data.

In particular, the data from the attitude section of the interview schedule reinforce the conclusions already outlined in relation to schooling and indicate differences between school leavers which are likely to influence their experience in the workforce. What is obvious is that differences do exist between the ethnic groups in their perception of work. Differences also exist between males and females as a group.

The following ten points are the major findings of the attitudinal data:

(1) Having a job is important to almost everyone, regardless of ethnic origin or sex.

(2) Males express a greater desire to be employed.

(3) Greek and Italian males appear to invest being employed with greater importance when it comes to defining themselves as people and their place in society than do Anglo-Australian males.

(4) Greek and Italian females display different and more flexible attitudes towards employment than their male counterparts.

(5) Anglo-Australian males and females appear very similar in expressed attitudes towards unemployment.

(6) Italian females as a group seem to be the ones most likely to express willingness to indulge in just about any job-seeking behaviour and their actual behaviour confirms this.

(7) The period of unemployment before a first job seems to affect attitudes towards being employed and unemployed. The nature of this effect is still unknown.

(8) The total period of unemployment also affects attitudes. Again the nature of the effect is as yet unknown.

(9) Females as a group appear to see employment as less important to their self image than do males as a group and can therefore afford to be more flexible in their approach to it.

(10) Greeks and Italians and Anglo-Australians all hold different concepts of employment and unemployment, the Anglo-Australian generally being less concerned with the type of job than with having a job. The exact nature of these differences is as yet unexplored but definite trends have been outlined in Chapter 10.

Of all the findings three stand out as most important:

(1) the ethnic differences regarding the function of work.

(2) the effect of unemployment on the attitudes of those experiencing it.

(3) the overwhelming desire of all groups to get a job.

The employment situation—observations from the Census

A cause for great optimism is the upward mobility experienced in the Greek and Italian ethnic groups. While the evidence from the surveys pointed out the very marked improvement in level of education achieved and occupation attained between the teenagers who were interviewed and that of their parents, further background evidence from the 1976 Census data pointed to two further strong indications of upward mobility in education and employment within the Greek and Italian populations in Australia. Firstly, there was the evidence of increased school retention rates among successive cohorts within each of the two overseas-born populations, especially for Greeks. Secondly, there was the evidence of older ages at leaving school, higher proportions of school leavers proceeding to further education, higher proportions in the professional and clerical occupations and higher proportions in the employer and self-employed categories from the first-generation to the second generation Greeks and Italians. However, one area where there is no apparent improvement from the first to the second generation is in the level of unemployment.

From the Census analysis it was also observed that, of the two birthplace groups, the experience of the Italian-born was closer to that of the Anglo-Australian in terms of ages at leaving school, labour force experience, occupational distribution and male-female differences. An exception was the very high proportions of Italians in the employer and self-employed category. The Greeks differed from these two by having slightly higher school retention rates and slightly greater advantages for males compared with females in terms of age at leaving school. Overall, there is a greater similarity between Italians and the Anglo-Australians, but there has been a greater improvement in the situation of the Greek population. When the second generations are compared with the Anglo-Australians there is very little difference between the occupational distributions and it appears that there are even higher proportions of second generation Greek and Italian teenagers staying at school than Anglo-Australians.

Referring back to the analysis of the 1976 Census data, it should be noted that the teenage workforce represents only one-third to one-half of the entire 15–19 years age group and therefore does not truly represent the eventual experience of the total cohort. Furthermore, the teenage labour force component of an ethnic group with a high retention at school and in further full-time education, such as occurs among the Greeks, is likely to be more atypical of the entire 15–19-year-old cohort than is the corresponding component of the other ethnic groups, such as the Italians and

Anglo-Australians. Accordingly, the survey analysis should be interpreted in terms of the experience of the teenage labour force component and not in terms of the entire ethnic group.

The employment situation—findings from the surveys

Three factors which emerged as exerting an important influence on subsequent employment experience were: working part-time while still at school, completing the school year and doing the Leaving certificate. At first sight there was the curious finding that the academically advisable course of staying at school, doing the Leaving and not having the distraction of a part-time job while at school was not always the best pattern to follow with respect to the short-term benefit of gaining a job as soon as possible after leaving school.

Furthermore, the counterpart of one of these factors, namely, working parttime while still at school, stands out as being an exceptional advantage with regard to this sample in that it is associated both with a lower level of unemployment and with having a higher status job after leaving school. Although the two other academically preferred choices, doing the Leaving and completing the school year, are of value with respect to the type of job obtained, it is only in the longer term that these choices become associated with lower levels of unemployment. Thus, from this analysis, it is important for the school leaver to be able to distinguish between short-term and long-term benefits of decisions made during the last years at school.

It also seems that this longer duration of unemployment before the first job among those who are academically better qualified, that is, who have completed the school year and who have passed the Leaving, may occur partly because there is less pressure on them to make up for a poor performance at school by immediately getting a job and with more to invest they are prepared to wait longer for a suitable job. (Of course, a longer wait may also be due to the fact that there is greater competition for skilled jobs.) Some evidence for these hypotheses comes from the observation that both these groups are more likely to take a 'holiday' or to regard this time of waiting as a 'holiday' rather than unemployment, in comparison with their less academically successful counterparts.

Slightly more information is available regarding the duration of continuous employment after the first job, in that the data show that although those who are academically better qualified are more likely to leave the first job and become unemployed, they are also more likely to leave the job intentionally for positive reasons. They are also more likely to take a 'holiday' at this time.

It is with some caution that we attempt to make comparisons of the employment experience between teenage Greek males and Italian males, because the former contain a relatively high overseas-born component, which affects not only the child's own adjustment to and knowledge of, Australian society, but also limits his parents' knowledge and understanding of conditions in Australia. Nevertheless, there seems to be some indication that the Italian males may be marginally better off than Greek males in terms of unemployment, access to jobs through relatives and friends and occupational distribution.

There is also evidence to suggest that teenage Greek females in the workforce are somewhat worse off than Italian females with regard to duration of unemployment and occupational distribution. The fact that in this case there are very similar proportions of second generation females within each group strengthens the evidence that there could be real differences between Greek and Italian males. For both sexes the Anglo-Australians appear to be in a better position in that they experience less unemployment before gaining the first job and after becoming employed.

There is also strong evidence of differences between males and females within each of the ethnic groups, especially with regard to the initial period of unemployment. These differences also exist between Anglo-Australian males and females, but to a lesser extent.

In the assessment of the overall advantage of lower unemployment before and after the first job, there are basically three types of comparisons to be considered: between males in each ethnic group, between females in each ethnic group and between males and females within each ethnic group.

In the case of the comparison between males and females within ethnic groups, the longer duration of unemployment of females before the first job and particularly the higher incidence of unemployment among females who have completed the school year and done the Leaving in comparison with males in the same categories, is an indication of a real disadvantage, especially since these characteristics are also linked with other disadvantages of females, namely:

(1) less parental assistance;
    (i) in choosing a career;
    (ii) in finding a job; and
    (iii) in being employed by friends or relatives.
(2) a lower proportion with experience in the workforce before leaving school;
(3) more restrictions on acceptable behaviour and on the type of job or training which is considered suitable;
(4) a greater probability of leaving the first job because of retrenchment;
(5) less confidence, less ambition and less pressure to succeed in the labour force; and
(6) being more confined to the home and home duties when unemployed and thus being more isolated when unemployed.

On the other hand females are advantaged by:

(1) being able to enter secretarial colleges for training without the strict age limits relating to trade training for males;
(2) being able to move into the white-collar clerical jobs;
(3) having a more positive attitude to school and appearing to have benefited more widely from what is taught at school;
(4) being more industrious when unemployed, in pursuing craft, hobbies and courses;
(5) having a better knowledge of the English language; and
(6) moving outside the ethnic group to find work, and being able to take advantage of a wider range of sources of information (partly through necessity).

These benefits may prove to be of greater value in the longer term.

Also, between females in each ethnic group, the longer unemployment before the first job and the lower probability of remaining in that job among the Greek and Italian females, compared with the Anglo-Australian females, also appear to be real disadvantages, especially for the Greek females. This is because many of the disadvantages experienced by females in comparison with males, as listed in the previous paragraphs, exist to a greater extent among the Greek and Italian females than among Anglo-Australian females.

Greeks and Italians without the Leaving have a significantly greater chance of remaining unemployed before the first job compared with Anglo-Australians without the Leaving. However, in addition Greeks with the Leaving and Greeks who have completed the school year each have a greater chance of remaining unemployed before the first job and a lower chance of remaining employed in the first job compared with Anglo-Australians in the corresponding categories.

Therefore while Italians seem to be able to cope as well as the Anglo-Australians if they have attained the necessary qualifications (possibly partly through relatively greater access to jobs through relatives and friends), Greeks who have been academically successful fare significantly worse than the corresponding groups of Anglo-Australians. Possibly the relatively poorer experience in the workforce of the Greek males in the sample is explained by their greater overseas-born component. Perhaps also there exists among Greeks a larger component who have stayed on at school beyond their level of ability.

There are further complexities in the interpretation of these differences between the males in each ethnic group, because of the supporting evidence of the reasons for leaving the first job and the culturally different attitudes to work as described in the analysis of the attitude items. In particular, the greater determination of Greek males to obtain a job which reflects their identity (evident to a lesser extent among Italian males) is in contrast to the Anglo-Australian's narrower concern just to get a job. Therefore, one must raise the question: Is it possible that part of their excess unemployment may be due to their greater ambition and attempts at greater upward mobility in the workforce?

To these results must be added the observation that the occupational distribution of employed second generation Greeks and Italians from both census and sample data is very similar to that of Anglo-Australians. However, it would seem that to achieve this parity the Greeks and Italians need to stay at school longer, experience more unemployment and expend more effort in job changing.

11.11 Conclusion and recommendations

What changes might improve the situation of Greek and Italian school leavers? Those indicated by the study are listed below and it should also be noted that Anglo-Australian school leavers would also benefit from many of these measures.

(1) Continuing need for schools to cater for the cultural diversity which exists and recognition of the fact that this diversity continues into the second generation.

(2) Recognition and continuation of the school's important role in the area of communication and general knowledge, particularly where first and second generation migrant children are concerned. Among females, particularly, the school may provide the only link with the wider community.

(3) Careers advice to begin earlier than Year 10 to cater for early school leavers.

(4) Special counselling for those intending to leave school part-way through the year.

(5) Appropriate counselling in cases where there is undue parental pressure on sons and daughters to perform well at school beyond their ability.

(6) Recognition and continuation of the important role of the schools in providing technical education and in creating an awareness of, and training in, vocational skills. There should also be some investigation into whether similar training might be introduced or extended to cater for females.

(7) More flexibility in the upper age limits for apprenticeships.

(8) Easier access to part-time post-school courses among young people in the workforce.

(9) Recognition of the existence of problems in moving into the workforce among those:
    (i) who were poor achievers at school; and
    (ii) who have performed well at school but whose job expectations are unrealistic in terms of their experience and the current labour force situation.

(10) Creation of more skilled jobs to provide employment for migrant and Anglo-Australian teenagers who have gained skills and training fitting them to such occupations.

(11) More assistance to females to counteract their existing disadvantages.

(12) Continuation and extension of special programs to reach unemployed Greek and Italian (and Anglo-Australian) school leavers, especially females, to reduce their isolation.

(13) Need for wider advertising of special government assistance schemes, including employment schemes, as the extent of knowledge about these is very small.

(14) Greater use by government and other organisations of television for advertising youth employment schemes, source of advice, sources of jobs and activities for the unemployed.

(15) Need for recognition of differences in attitudes towards being employed and unemployed. Specially trained personnel to assist those unfamiliar with the expectations of Australian employers (society) could be beneficial.

(16) A greater awareness by the government and education systems that unemployment can affect attitudes and behaviour. The length of time unemployed appears to be the crucial factor. Schemes to ensure at least some time each year involved in some form of employment may help.

(17) A recognition of the urgent need for research into unemployment and its effects both long and short term. In the face of growing unemployment figures this may become essential to know.

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CHAPTER 9

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APPENDIX A

Questions asked in the main demographic survey

Summary

1. Area and sample selection procedure.
2. Ethnic group.
3. Sex.
4. Currently employed or unemployed
5. Married or single.
6. No. of persons in the household.
7. Living arrangements.

Respondent's background

8. Can you please tell me your month and year of birth?
9. In which country were you born?
10. Did you spend most of your childhood in a city, large town, small town, or rural area?
11. Can you please tell me your religion? (Code according to given religion rather than extent of practice.)
12. How old were you when you first came to Australia?
13. What year did you arrive in Australia?
14. Have you been back to Greece/Italy since coming here? *OR* IF BORN HERE, ASK: Have you ever been to Greece/Italy?
15. Apart from holidays do you think you will stay in Australia?
16. ASK OVERSEAS-BORN ONLY Are you an Australian citizen, or do you intend to be?

Language

17. How well do you speak Greek/Italian?
18. Have you studied Greek/Italian in Australia? (INCLUDE GREEK OR ITALIAN LESSONS AT PRIMARY OR SECONDARY SCHOOL, OR ANY OTHER GREEK/ITALIAN LESSONS).
19. IF OLDER THAN 5 YEARS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA ASK: Apart from Greek/Italian what other languages did you learn (at school) before coming to Australia?
20. INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN YOUR ASSESSMENT OF HOW WELL THE RESPONDENT SPEAKS ENGLISH.
21. (a) Have you ever been to special English classes in school in Australia? (i.e. SPECIAL ENGLISH FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN)
    (b) For how many years were you in such classes?

22. Do you belong to any Greek/Italian organisations (including religious organisations)? Do you go to many meetings?

23. What ethnic background are most of your friends?

24. What language do you speak at home?

Schooling

25. What school did you last go to? (NOTE: 'SCHOOL' MEANS PRIMARY OR SECONDARY SCHOOL. ANY POST-SCHOOL EDUCATION IS ASKED ABOUT IN Q.37).

26. How many years of schooling did you have before coming to Australia?

27. How many years of schooling have you had in Australia? (THIS REFERS ONLY TO PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS.)

28. (a) What level of schooling did you reach in Australia?

    (b) Did you pass the Leaving Certificate or the Higher School Certificate, or did you do TOP?

29. How old were you when you left school? (THIS REFERS TO SECONDARY SCHOOL.)

IF RESPONDENT HAS BEEN TO SCHOOL IN GREECE/ITALY AND AUSTRALIA ASK:

30. (a) Do you have any comments about Australian schools in comparison with schools in Greece/Italy?

ASK ALL:

30. (b) What about your parents—what do they say about Australian schools?

31. (a) Did you have long breaks or frequent absences from school in Australia, or change schools a lot?

    (b) IF YES, ASK: What were these due to?

    (c) THE RESPONDENT WENT TO SCHOOL IN GREECE/ITALY, ASK: Did you have any long breaks, frequent absences or lots of changes in school in Greece/Italy?

32. How have you benefited from the things you have learned at school? OR, IF MORE APPROPRIATE, ASK: How do you think you will benefit from the things you have learned at school?

    (a) in working in a job?

    (b) in other ways?

33. IS OMITTED

34. During the last few years at school, what did each of the following people want you to do about continuing to study (at school or in a tertiary institution) or going to work?

    (a) Mother

    (b) Father

    (c) Teacher

    (d) Yourself

35. Have most of your friends continued with school (and further study) or left?

36. (a) Why did you leave school (and not continue with further school or further study)?

    (b) Did you leave at the end of the school year or part-way through?

37. Since leaving school have you done any post-school training (include EPUY or TAFE courses, including English classes).

38. Is there any (other) course or training that you would like to do?

39. Did you ever receive any advice from each of the following people about possible jobs you might get? How much discussion did you have with them, and what sort of advice did they give you?

  (a) Teachers or careers advisors?

  (b) Parents or relatives?

  (c) Other—please specify.

40. IS OMITTED.

41. How did you find out most about:

  (a) Relationships in a job, how to behave in a job?

  (b) What to do when you're unemployed, how to manage, where to go for help?

42. What is the best way to find out, or who is the best person to teach you about these things:

  (a) Relationship in a job, how to behave in a job;

  (b) What to do when you're unemployed, how to manage, where to go for help.

43. Suppose that you wanted to find a job. Which of the following ways of doing this do you know about and how did you find out about them?

  (a) CES

  (b) Other employment agencies, specify

  (c) Youth employment schemes, (government), specify

  (d) Exams to get into government jobs (e.g. Public Service, Telecom, Post Office), specify

  (e) Melbourne *Age* Job Market

44. ATTITUDE QUESTIONS—SEE APPENDIX C.

Work history

45. Can you tell me, on the calendar that I will show you, which months you were still at school, which months you were working and which months you were not working? Also, which months were you getting unemployment benefits?

46. Current status

47. Past status

48. Since January 1978

  (a) Total number of months since leaving school

  (b) Total number of months at work

  (c) Total number of months unemployed

  (d) Total number of months on unemployment benefits

  (e) Number of months of unemployment before first job

  (f) Number of months of unemployment before most recent job

  (g) Number of jobs since leaving school

PART-TIME WORK WHILE STILL AT SCHOOL

49. Did you ever work part-time while you were at school? Was this for money or as a helper?

50. Please describe (a) the sort of work that you were doing, (b) for whom you were working, and (c) for how long you worked.

IF THE RESPONDENT HAS NOT WORKED AT ALL *SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL* PLEASE SKIP TO Q.54

Q. 51, 52 AND 53 ARE ASKING ABOUT *WORK HISTORY AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL*. DO NOT INCLUDE PART-TIME WORK OR VACATION WORK WHILE STILL AT SCHOOL.

51. Please tell me about your *first job* after leaving school?

    (a) What was this job?

    (b) How did you get it?

    (c) Was your employer a relative or friend, Greek/Italian or Australian?

    (d) About how many people work there?

    (e) Did you learn much English at this job, either from special classes or from workmates?

    (f) Have you left this job, or do you expect to leave soon? IF YES, ASK—Why did you leave? OR Why will you be leaving?

IF THE RESPONDENT HAS CHANGED JOBS ASK:

52. Can you please tell me about your most recent job.
    (a) What was this job?
    (b) How did you get it?
    (c) Was your employer a relative or friend, Greek/Italian or Australian?
    (d) About how many people work there?
    (e) Did you learn much English at this job, either from special classes or from workmates?
    (f) Have you left this job, or do you expect to leave soon? IF YES, ASK: Why did you leave? OR Why will you be leaving?
53. In the job that you are now doing (or were doing if unemployed):
    (a) What were some of the good things about it?
    (b) What were some of the bad things about it?
54. IF EVER UNEMPLOYED, ASK: Apart from looking for jobs how do/did you spend your time during the day, while you are/were unemployed?
55. ASK ALL:
    If it were possible what sort of work would you like to do?
56. What do you think your chances are of getting that sort of job?

    What sort of help would you need or what would you have to do so that you could get this sort of work?
57. Why would you like to do that sort of work?
58. What do you think you might actually be working at, or doing, in two years' time?
59. Do you feel that your home background and your religion had a special influence on:

    your schooling and further study
    work and other activities
    other ambitions

AND FOR GIRLS:

work after marriage, pursuing a long-term career
the marriage you expect to make
the number of children you expect to have

Questions about parents' education and occupation

Finally, could I just ask you a few questions about your parents' education and occupation?

60. Could you please tell me how many years of schooling?
    - (a) your father has had
    - (b) your mother has had
61. Can you please also tell me about your father's occupation
    - (a) before he came to Australia
    - (b) now—or his most recent job if retired, etc.
62. Is your father now working (self-employed or employee), or is he retired or unemployed?
63. Can you also please tell me about your mother's occupation
    - (a) before she came to Australia
    - (b) now—or her most recent job if not working, etc.
64. Is your mother now working (owns her own business, or an employee); or is she a housewife, or is she looking for work?
65. Are your parents living in Australia?
66. Interview's number
67. Month of interview
68. Language of interview
69. Time taken for interview (minutes)
70. INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN YOUR GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE RESPONDENT'S SCHOOL AND WORK EXPERIENCE, PARTICULARLY MAKING A NOTE OF ANYTHING SPECIAL THAT IS NOT RECORDED IN THE INTERVIEW.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX B

Attitude questions used in the original pretest

STATEMENTS ABOUT WORK IN GENERAL

1. Work is anything I do that I have to do.
2. The happiest people are those whose work is something they can do whether or not they are employed.
3. Work is different from employment because going home does not mean that you do not do any more work.
4. There is no such thing as enjoyable work.
5. Work should be pleasant.
6. The purpose of work besides earning money is to give you the respect of your family and friends.
7. If I could not be paid for my work I would lose my self-respect.
8. Work is anything I do that accomplishes something.
9. Work is anything I do because I enjoy doing it.
10. Work and employment mean the same thing to me.
11. I should be happy to take a job which just paid my expenses so that I could have more time to spend on my other interests.
12. Work and enjoyment cannot be combined.
13. Work is something to be avoided if possible.
14. The happiest people are those who work only when they need money.
15. If I cannot do some form of work I do not feel very good about myself.
16. The only purpose of working is to make money.
17. The purpose of work is to define your place in society as well as to provide for your family.
18. It does not matter to me whether or not I work because I do not believe my work has anything to do with me as a person.
19. Work for the day finishes when I leave my job and go home.
20. It does not matter whether or not I get any money for my work as long as I am happy with what I do.

EMPLOYMENT

21. It is better to take a safe steady job than a risky insecure one, even if the pay is not so good.
22. Most times whether or not you get a job depends on who you know that can help you.
23. Being employed is important if you wish to be respected by society.
24. Most times whether or not you get a job is just luck.
25. Most times whether or not you get a job depends on your family connections.
26. Money is the primary reason for taking a job.

27. If you try hard enough you can get a job.
28. If a job is secure then it is a good job.
29. Earning as much money as I can as quickly as I can is more important than the dim chance in the future of a better job if I stay at school.
30. It is more important that my job has the respect of society than that it pays a lot of money.
31. If the government would pay me enough to live on I would happily become unemployed.
32. Everyone is entitled to a job which gives them a steady income.
33. Being employed is the right thing even if you have enough money to live without being employed.
34. Going to school is all very well, but earning a living is more important.
35. It is very satisfying to do your best at a job.
36. Only those poeple with an interesting job can be expected to do their best work.
37. It is important that you work as hard as possible in whatever job you do.
38. The person who holds down a good job is more respected by society than a person who holds down a bad job.
39. My job gives me a sense of self-respect.
40. Education seems to be a waste of time past high school.
41. The most important thing about a job is that you have it.

Unemployment

42. It is hard to know what to say to someone who asks you, what you are, if you have no job.
43. Being unemployed is great but I would like to eventually get a job.
44. If I had the chance of being unemployed and a job I would hate I would still rather have this job than remain unemployed.
45. If the society I live in were more accepting I would happily remain unemployed.
46. The government should make sure we can get a job we like.
47. If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed.
48. The government owes us the right to be employed.
49. I would rather travel a long distance to work than be unemployed.
50. I would rather stay unemployed than accept a job I did not like.
51. I would rather work at anything than be unemployed.
52. Because I am unemployed my family feels embarrassed.
53. Unemployment is just a sign of the times, it is not the government's fault.
54. Being unemployed means that society looks down on you as lazy.
55. There is nothing wrong with being unemployed.
56. Because I am unemployed my family is angry with me.
57. My family understands that it is not my fault that there are no jobs available.
58. Being unemployed robs a person of their dignity.
59. My family thinks I am lazy because I cannot get a job.
60. A person cannot respect himself if he is unemployed.

61. If you are trained to a certain level then it is silly to waste this training by taking an unsuitable job.

62. The amount of money I earn is less important than having the job itself.

63. I would rather be employed at a job which paid less than unemployment benefits, than be unemployed.

63A. It is better to take a part-time job, even if it is not what you want, than remain unemployed.

Unemployment benefits

64. If the government paid me the dole I would stay on at school for as long as I needed to get the qualifications for the job I want to have.

65. If society did not look down on those receiving unemployment benefits I would be happy to receive them rather than work.

66. Unemployment benefits should be available for anyone who wants to try an alternative way of living.

67. There is nothing wrong with receiving unemployment benefits if you can't find work.

68. Unemployment benefits should be freely available to those who do not wish to gain employment.

69. It is better to wait until the job you want comes along than to take any job you can get.

70. Only those people who want to get a paid job should qualify for unemployment benfits.

71. Unemployment benefits should only be given to those people who are willing to take on any job available.

72. It is degrading to have to apply for unemployment benefits.

73. Working at any job is better than taking unemployment benefits.

74. It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are not available.

Activities related to gaining and not gaining employment

75. Reading jobs vacant columns in my local nespaper.

76. Asking my father to help me find a job.

77. Going to the Commonwealth Employment Service.

78. Advertising myself in the jobs wanted column of a newspaper.

79. Asking my employed friends to help me find a job.

80. Going to see some people who usually employ people like me to ask for a job.

81. Taking the public service entry exams suitable for me.

82. Going to any employment agency I can find.

83. Taking the Telecom entry exam.

(There are no items 84 and 85).

86. Asking my mother to help me find a job.

87. Applying for the dole

88. Going to any interviews set up for me, even if I think I will not get the job.

89. Reading the jobs vacant columns in the *Australian* or some other major newspapers.

90. Willing to apply for any type of work I can get.

91. Asking my girlfriend to help me find work.

92. Reminding people of jobs they said might become available.

93. Consulting the careers adviser at my school.

94. Asking my boyfriend to help me find work.

Behaviour conducive to bettering chances of employment

95. Remaining at school until I have completed Higher School Certificate.

96. Only to migrant groups
Going to classes to improve my ability to speak English.

97. Going to a technical school (either night or day).

98. Only to migrant groups
Going to school to learn Greek/Italian better.

99. Going to a college or university (either night or day).

100. Becoming an apprentice.

101. Going to any course my employer wishes me to attend.

102. If advised by CES or careers adviser, taking a course they recommend.

DO YOU FEEL THERE IS ANYTHING YOU CAN DO OR ARE DOING WHICH WILL INCREASE YOUR CHANCES OF EMPLOYMENT?

HOW OFTEN DO YOU DO THESE THINGS?

WHY DO YOU THINK THEY WILL INCREASE YOUR CHANCES OF EMPLOYMENT?

APPENDIX C

Attitude questions used in the main survey

IF THE INTERVIEW IS BEING CONDUCTED IN GREEK OR ITALIAN, PLEASE USE THE TYPED GREEK AND ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THESE QUESTIONS. PLEASE BE CAREFUL TO CODE THE ANSWERS IN THE CORRECT BOXES.

Work

1. The happiest people are those whose work is something they can do whether or not they are employed.
2. If I cannot do some form of work I do not feel very good about myself.
3. The only purpose of working is to make money.
4. It does not matter whether or not I get any money for my work as long as I am happy with what I do.

Employment

5. It is more important that my job has the respect of society than that it pays a lot of money.
6. Only those people with an interesting job can be expected to do their best work.
7. It is important that you work as hard as possible in whatever job you do.

Unemployment

8. Being unemployed is great but I would like to eventually get a job.
9. If the society I live in were more accepting, I would happily remain unemployed.
10. If it meant that I would have to leave home to get employment I would rather leave home than remain unemployed.
11. I would rather work at anything than be unemployed.
12. Being unemployed means the society looks down on you as lazy.
13. There is nothing wrong with being unemployed.

Unemployment benefits

14. If society did not look down on those receiving unemployment benefits I would be happy to receive them rather than work.
15. There is nothing wrong with receiving unemployment benefits if you can't find work.
16. It is degrading to have to apply for unemployment benefits.
17. It is right to take unemployment benefits if the jobs you would like are not available.

Job-seeking strategies and related activities

18. Reading jobs vacant columns in my local newspaper.

NOTE: 'LOCAL' CAN INCLUDE ANY LOCAL PAPER, SUCH AS SUBURBAN NEWSPAPER, AN ETHNIC NEWSPAPER, THE *AGE*, OR THE MELBOURNE *HERALD*.

19. Asking my father to help me find a job.

20. Going to the Commonwealth Employment Service.

21. Asking my employed friends to help me find a job.

22. Applying for the dole.

23. Going to any interviews set up for me, even if I think I will not get the job.

24. Reading the jobs vacant columns in the *Australian* or some other major newspapers.

NOTE: *AUSTRALIAN* IS CORRECT. THE AIM OF THIS QUESTION IS TO FIND OUT IF THEY WOULD LOOK OUTSIDE MELBOURNE FOR JOBS.

25. Asking my girlfriend or boyfriend to help me find work.

26. Reminding people of jobs they said might become available.

27. Remaining at school until I have completed Higher School Certificate.

28. Going to college or university (either night or day).

29. Going to a course recommended by CES, careers advisers or employers.

Interviewer Card 10 Father

Interviewer Card 11 Mother

Interviewer Card 12 Friends

Interviewer Card 13 Boyfriend/girlfriend

APPENDIX D

Set of cards used in the attitude questions

Note that the numbers in brackets following each Card Number refer to the attitude statements in Appendix B to which that particular card is applied.

CARD NO. 1 (1 to 17)

I BELIEVE THAT THIS STATEMENT IS

(1) DEFINITELY TRUE
(2) PROBABLY TRUE
(3) UNSURE
(4) PROBABLY NOT TRUE
(5) DEFINITELY NOT TRUE

CARD NO. 2 (1 to 17)

I FEEL THIS WAY:

(1) ALWAYS
(2) MOSTLY
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY
(5) NEVER

CARD NO. 3 (18 to 29)
I HAVE DONE THIS

(1) A LOT
(2) QUITE A BIT
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY

OR I WOULD DO THIS:

(5) DEFINITELY
(6) PROBABLY
(7) UNSURE
(8) PROBABLY NOT
(9) DEFINITELY NOT

CARD NO 4 (18 to 29)

DID YOU THINK DOING THIS WOULD GET YOU A JOB?

(1) IT DEFINITELY WOULD
(2) IT PROBABLY WOULD
(3) IT MIGHT POSSIBLY
(4) IT PROBABLY WOULD NOT
(5) IT DEFINITELY WOULD NOT

CARD NO. 5 (18 to 29)

HOW WOULD THIS MAKE YOU FEEL?

(1) GOOD
(2) PRETTY GOOD
(3) NOT SURE
(4) NOT SO GOOD
(5) NOT GOOD AT ALL

HOW DID THIS MAKE YOU FEEL?

(1) GOOD
(2) PRETTY GOOD
(3) NOT SURE
(4) NOT SO GOOD
(5) NOT GOOD AT ALL

CARD NO. 6 (18 to 29)

I FEEL THAT MY FATHER BELIEVES

(1) I SHOULD DEFINITELY DO THIS
(2) I SHOULD PROBABLY DO THIS
(3) IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT I DO THIS
(4) I SHOULD PROBABLY NOT DO THIS
(5) I SHOULD DEFINITELY NOT DO THIS
(6) I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY FATHER BELIEVES ABOUT THIS

CARD NO. 7 (18 to 29)

I FEEL THAT MY MOTHER BELIEVES

(1) I SHOULD DEFINITELY DO THIS
(2) I SHOULD PROBABLY DO THIS
(3) IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT I DO THIS
(4) I SHOULD PROBABLY NOT DO THIS
(5) I SHOULD DEFINITELY NOT DO THIS
(6) I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY MOTHER BELIEVES ABOUT THIS

CARD NO. 8 (18 to 29)

I FEEL THAT MY FRIENDS BELIEVE

(1) I SHOULD DEFINITELY DO THIS
(2) I SHOULD PROBABLY DO THIS
(3) IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT I DO THIS
(4) I SHOULD PROBABLY NOT DO THIS
(5) I SHOULD DEFINITELY NOT DO THIS
(6) I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY FRIENDS BELIEVE ABOUT THIS

CARD NO. 9 (18 to 29)

I FEEL THAT MY BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND BELIEVES

(1) I SHOULD DEFINITELY DO THIS
(2) I SHOULD PROBABLY DO THIS
(3) IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT I DO THIS
(4) I SHOULD PROBABLY NOT DO THIS
(5) I SHOULD DEFINITELY NOT DO THIS
(6) I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND BELIEVES ABOUT THIS

CARD NO. 10 (18 to 29)

IN GENERAL, I FEEL I OUGHT TO DO AS MY FATHER WISHES

(1) ALWAYS
(2) MOSTLY
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY
(5) NEVER

CARD NO. 11

IN GENERAL, I FEEL I OUGHT TO DO AS MY MOTHER WISHES

(1) ALWAYS
(2) MOSTLY
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY
(5) NEVER

CARD NO. 12

IN GENERAL, I FEEL I OUGHT TO DO AS MY FRIENDS WISH

(1) ALWAYS
(2) MOSTLY
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY
(5) NEVER

CARD NO. 13

IN GENERAL, I FEEL I OUGHT TO DO AS MY BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND WISHES

(1) ALWAYS
(2) MOSTLY
(3) SOMETIMES
(4) RARELY
(5) NEVER

Abbreviations

AGPS	Australian Government Publishing Service
ANU	Australian National University
CES	Commonwealth Employment Service
HSC	Higher School Certificate
SC	School Certificate
TOP	Tertiary Orientation Program*
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences**
VCOSS	Victorian Council of Social Services

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* A secondary school qualification in technical subjects sometimes undertaken by students who are unable to pass the HSC.

** A system of computer programs designed for the analysis of social science data, developed in the University of Chicago.